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OF
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Volume XXXII



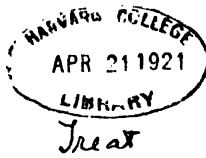
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RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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No. 1

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT

EDWARD J. GALBALLY

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 21 DECEMBER, 1920

Our annual meeting falls this year on a red-letter day in American history. Just three hundred years ago to-day—21 December—the Mayflower passengers made their actual landing on Plymouth rock. This coincidence of dates directs our thoughts to that early page in the infant life of the nation, and makes it fitting that we follow one of the trains of thought which an event so noteworthy suggests.

The story of the Pilgrim Fathers, as these first colonists came to be called many years after their migration to the New World, is little calculated in some of its phases to stir Catholic enthusiasm, however much one may admire their sturdy courage in meeting physical hardships. The reason is plain to any one who will set the account of critical and impartial historians of this first company of English settlers in 1620 side by side with the authentic narrative of the Catholic Pilgrims who settled in Maryland. The latter colonists, sailing from the Clyde in two little ships, the

"Ark" and the "Dove", reached their new home at St. Clements and St. Mary's City, along the Chesapeake, in 1634, a bare fourteen years after the Plymouth expedition had set foot on their New England plantation.

The two settlements present similarities and differences. The chief of the likenesses was that both the New Englanders and the Marylanders sought an asylum on this side of the Atlantic against religious persecution; and the leading difference is that, whereas the Plymouth fugitives turned persecutors themselves in the name of religion, the Catholic Pilgrims of Maryland have the proud distinction and honor of having been the first colonial settlers in North America to tolerate complete liberty of conscience. They were the first to recognize in theory and in practice that, as Cardinal Manning has said, "to force men to profess what they do not believe is contrary to the law of God, and to generate faith by force is morally impossible." They not only preached but practised religious toleration.

The claim that the Maryland Pilgrims were the forerunners and champions of liberty of conscience in all the thirteen colonies which formed the nucleus of the United States of America, however much it may be challenged in favor of the Rhode Island Colony, founded in 1636 by Roger Williams, cannot be seriously contested for the Plymouth Pilgrims. This may not be the popular conception—thanks to the profuse panegyrists of the Pilgrim Fathers; but it is the measured verdict of such writers and students of history as Winsor, Bancroft, Mr. Justice Story, Chalmers, General Bradley T. Johnson, and Usher. And not one of these is a Catholic.

This contrast between the two colonies is interesting and instructive. And even though it has been set forth from time to time, it deserves to be told over again, in these days of lavish tercentenary laudations, not for the vain purpose of odious comparison, but for the sake of vindicating the

Baltimore colonists and the Church that inspired their respect for rights of conscience.

I.

It will fit in with our present purpose to state first, briefly, who the Plymouth Pilgrims were and what were their relations to their neighbor settlements in those pioneer days, before industrious hands had woven their story into the web of national events so as to make it appear that we owe our present American civilization, with its civil and religious liberties, to the Plymouth Pilgrims.

During the period of their own plantation and the settlement at Rhode Island, there were other separate and distinct colonies in New England, though the first of them all to arrive was the band of one hundred venturesome men and women who made their historic landing three hundred years ago to-day on the bleak and desolate shores of Plymouth. The little company hailed originally from the North of England, where they had formed themselves into one of the numerous Protestant denominations, and had thereby brought upon themselves persecution from their parent body, the dominant Church of England. For conscience sake they fled to Holland in 1606 and made a settlement at Leyden. Fourteen years they remained there. In 1619, because of their hard material lot and the fear of further torments on the score of religion, though from another quarter, they determined to seek a safe asylum across the Atlantic. They returned first to England, whence the "Mayflower" brought them to America.

The name—though subsequently not much to their liking—by which they were known through these vicissitudes was the Separatists. It was given to them when they had proclaimed their separation from the Church of England, because of their objection to certain Catholic usages which the Anglican Church had kept after it renounced its allegi-

ance to Rome. Their more numerous and more influential neighbors in the New World were for the most part Puritans, so called because their dissent from the Church of England was based on the ground that they wished to purify the established Church of certain relics of Catholic liturgy. Though the Puritans refused to conform to the dominant church of the land, they did not withdraw from membership in it.

The Massachusetts Bay colony, chartered in 1628, was made up of these Puritans. For more than sixty years—1628 to 1691—this community, although its inhabitation was only forty miles from the Plymouth Pilgrims, ran its career independent of the latter, unrelated to it, and uninfluenced by it. The two confederacies, small as they were, were self-centered, with their own ideas and habits of thought, their own civil constitutions and distinct religious affiliations. The Massachusetts Bay settlers were still members of the Church of England when they came to America, though their leanings were to the Baptist denomination. At this period the Plymouth Pilgrims had begun to show their preference for Congregationalism. For nine years after their landing they had no ordained minister, Elder Brewster being the conductor of their religious meetings.

In estimating the influence of the Pilgrims on the nascent life of America, it should be borne in mind that, as compared with the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, the Colony at Plymouth was weak and small—"a feeble fold," as they were called. The first or Salem settlement of the Puritans, in 1628, however, had been greatly added to by the tide of emigration in 1629, and especially in 1630. Within these two years more colonists had come across the ocean to join the Puritans of the Bay than had joined the Pilgrims in ten years; and during the succeeding decade the Bay colony was enlarged rapidly by the inflow of settlers from Eng-

land, so that at the time when the two colonies were merged in 1691, about fifty-five churches ministered to the Puritan population, and between fifteen to twenty had grown up in the plantation of the plodding Pilgrims.

Likewise, in respect of wealth and material prosperity, and especially in their literary and intellectual culture, the Puritans outranked the Pilgrims. Of the eight leading minds among the latter, beginning with John Carver (their first Governor, until his death five months after the landing) and including William Bradford (their second Governor), Edward Winslow, William Brewster (their religious mentor for nine years), Isaac Allerton, Miles Standish (their military captain), John Alden, and Samuel Fuller, probably only one, William Brewster, was a product of the schools. Governor Bradford says of him that "he spent some little time at Cambridge." On the other hand, the presence of educated men in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was quite as noteworthy as their absence in the elder colony. Many of them had made their mark for learning before leaving their native shores. It was the Puritans, not the Pilgrims, who founded Harvard College, in 1642, and supplied from their own ranks its staff of teachers.

As regards liberty of conscience in these two colonies the distinction between them is not so great. Both were persecutors of those who came to their provinces professing a different religious belief from their own, especially the Catholic faith. To hold up the Pilgrims as the model builders of a commonwealth, the founders of the civil and religious liberties of America, is something more than extravagant praise. It is a myth, an unsubstantial legend. Professor Usher of Washington University, St. Louis, himself a native of Massachusetts, says on this point: "The Pilgrims did not allow people of all shades of opinion, of all walks of life and of all varieties and conditions, to reside permanently within their jurisdiction." "We should much

misrepresent them," he says in another place, "if we suppose for an instant that they came to America in order to promulgate that anyone might come to Plymouth and think what he liked. . . . On the contrary they came to escape the necessity of tolerating those who disagreed with them, in the hope that they might be able to erect in America a temporal organization sufficiently strong to keep divergent minds at something better than arm's length." We know that the religion they practised was one that spoke in no gentle accents, but was of the stern and inquisitorial variety. Their persecution of the Quakers was only second in zeal to their pursuit of Catholics. A Pilgrim edict of 1658 runs thus: "No Quaker or Ranter or any such corrupt person shall be admitted to be a freeman;" and in 1661 another decree was passed ordaining that "Quakers and such like vagabonds" should be "whipped with rods, so it exceeded not fifteen stripes, and made to depart the Government."

Following a modern Quaker historian, Father Herbert Thurston tells us that Governor Prence, when sentencing the Quaker culprits, called them "Papists and jesuits and inordinate fellows." What these tolerant-minded Pilgrims would have done to the Papists themselves, we can only conjecture from this and the like benign epithets used in their regard; for the Pilgrims' tender mercy toward Rome and Papists was of such fame that our fathers in the faith gave Plymouth a wide berth in those days. One trembles to think of the fate of any Jesuit who might have stumbled upon their rugged plantation. The uncivilized Redskins offered a brighter missionary prospect to the black-robés than did these Pilgrim Separatists, and the wilderness itself was less forbidding than Plymouth rock for those who wished to follow Catholic observances.

It is pertinent to add here that history does not record that the Pilgrim Fathers gave themselves concern about the

souls of the Indians with whom they came in contact. If the aborigines came into the plantation, they had to conform themselves to the rigid Sabbatarian ordinance in force there. The earliest relations established between the Indians and the Pilgrims had, from the standpoint of the settlers, only two objects in view—self-protection and personal gain. Speaking generally, neither the spiritual nor the material welfare of the natives was considered by the pioneer colonists in New England.

If in this rapid picture the Plymouth pilgrims are not painted as the worthies they are popularly made out to be, and if stress has been laid on certain entries in the records that tell less favorably for the place of the Plymouth Pilgrims in American history, it is not due to any conscious misinterpretation of the records. Nevertheless, it is well known how rare an achievement it is to overcome completely one's natural reactions to or away from that which is of special concern whether in religion, politics, or in other matters where personal interest is in possession.

II.

Let us turn now to the Maryland colony. History gives to these Catholic Pilgrims the honor of first promulgating the theory of religious liberty in America and of practising toleration toward the people of every ecclesiastical affiliation. No mark of intolerance has been found in discredit of the Baltimore foundation. Complete freedom of worship was accorded to whomsoever lived in the foundation, so long as Calvert and the Catholics directed the civil administration. That period runs from 1634, when the colony first came here, to 1692, when the Maryland charter was revoked, and the Church of England was by law established in Maryland. In those days the tables were turned, and the Catholics themselves in the province were penalized for the observance of their religion.

Before the colonization of Maryland, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had taken out a charter for the founding of a Catholic settlement in Newfoundland, where he and his coreligionists might be free from proscription for conscience sake. This Avalon foundation, five years earlier than the Maryland migration, was in reality the parent of the Catholic colony established along the Chesapeake in 1634. Letters patent for the latter colony had been issued to Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, son and heir of George Calvert. It was Leonard Calvert, however, one of Cecilius's younger brothers, who led the expedition to Maryland.

Even before this time the practical character of Baltimore's religious toleration had been put to the test in the Avalon experiment. That the same spirit of religious liberty was to preside over the new colony in Maryland is made plain by a letter of instructions written by Cecilius Calvert to his brother Leonard on the eve of the departure of the Catholic Pilgrims to America. The letter is dated 13 November, 1633 (the "Ark" and "Dove" reached St. Mary's City in the following March), and the pertinent passage runs as follows: "His Lordship requires of his said Governor and Commissioners that, in their voyage to Maryland, they be very careful to preserve unity and peace among all the passengers on shipboard, and that they suffer no scandal or offence to be given to any of the Protestants," and that said Governor and Commissioners treat the Protestants with "as much mildness and favor as justice will permit. And this is to be observed on land as well as at sea." Historians agree that this was not a mere high-sounding promise nor a dead letter, but that religious toleration was a continuous fact in the Maryland colony during the whole period of its administration by the Catholic proprietary.

In the light of such a tolerant attitude toward freedom of

conscience, in an age when theological animosities were everywhere cruelly active, it is not surprising that many Protestants were found among the passengers on the "Ark" and the "Dove," and that so many non-Catholics of various shades of church membership or none were attracted to the Catholic colony of Maryland, known as the "Land of the Sanctuary," as an asylum where their rights of conscience were not invaded by the civil authorities. In point of fact the list of passengers on the two little ships shows that those of the non-Catholic adherences were more numerous than the Catholics aboard, although the latter were distinctly in control of the expedition, not only because of the leaders of the party, the direct representative of the Proprietary, but also because the rulers and freemen of the enterprise were Catholics. Many of the Protestant passengers were attached to the company in the capacity of retainers or servants. The invitation, however, to join the migration as colonists had been extended to all, without regard to difference of creed; and to all, without discrimination, there were made grants of land (fifty acres to each emigrant) in the colony, as promised before embarkation.

Speaking of Lord Baltimore's religious-liberty charter General Bradley T. Johnson, a Protestant, says: "Instead of founding a Roman Catholic colony, as the Puritan had founded a Puritan colony in New England, it became apparent to Lord Baltimore's wise mind that to secure any liberty at all, he must secure it by the safeguards which experience had proved had protected it for so many centuries in England, and that, to make these safeguards more efficient than they had been in England, there must be extended to all, the title of all men to the rights of reason, of property and of thought. He therefore determined to invite all men, of all Christian people, to emigrate to the new colony, under the conditions of the charter." Father Blount, who was General of the Society of Jesus in England, and who was

one of those consulted by Lord Baltimore in framing the charter, testifies that it is a "licence for them to depart the Kingdom and go into Maryland, or any country, where they may have liberty of their religion." General Johnson refers to the foregoing defence of the charter as follows: "This paper proves that the Charter of Maryland was then considered and treated as securing liberty of conscience to Roman Catholics. It proves further that the Society of Jesus undertook to further and extend the planting of the Colony, with the full knowledge that the principle of religious toleration was to be adopted as one of the fundamental institutions of the Province, and toleration for Roman Catholics carried with it, of necessity, toleration for all Christians." Of the same charter George Bancroft writes: "Christianity was by the charter made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect, and equality of religious rights, not less than civil freedom, was assured."

Objection has been made that, notwithstanding the assurance given in the charter, liberty of conscience was not in fact in operation at the beginning of the Maryland colony, else it would not have been necessary to pass the Baltimore Toleration Act of 1649, some fifteen years after the Catholic Pilgrims landed. In the first place, the argument is a negative one; and those who urge it have not been able, under challenge, to produce a single instance of persecuting bigotry against the Catholic government of the colony. All the evidence, taken from the best Protestant writers, runs on the other side, showing complete freedom of faith and worship.

In explanation of the rather formidable-looking objection, we should recall the state of affairs, political and ecclesiastical, at that period in England, and their reaction on the American colonies.

Charges of treason were freely brought against those who did not conform to the State Church. It was the time

when the whimsical Charles I had been put to death by his enemies in religion, and Cromwell held the reins of power, with his Puritan followers. They would coerce everybody to join in their form of worship. Their reforming zeal could and did span the broad Atlantic. With good reason might Lord Baltimore take thought for the safety of his "nest of Popery", to use the name which the colony had received from some of his intolerant neighbors. Accordingly the Proprietary procured the passage of the Toleration Act, and thus gave statutory expression to the policy that he had followed all along in Maryland, and which his father, the first Lord Baltimore, had consistently observed in the abandoned Newfoundland asylum at Avalon. Indeed, one year before the enactment of the Toleration Act, Baltimore had taken what must be considered as a preliminary step to the Act itself, when he reorganized his civil government, replacing the Catholic executive by a Protestant one in the person of Governor Stone. At the same time also he had three Protestants put in the Council against only three Catholics. Both the reapportionment of the personnel of the provincial administration and the passage of the Toleration Act were measures of safety. They did not betoken any change of heart or of policy. Protection was sought thereby against the threatening Puritans across the seas—protection not only for the Catholics among the colonists, but also for others in the settlement who did not conform to the persecutors' code of conscience and church membership. But the main point is that the Maryland sanctuary or religious liberty for all was what the name implies, both before the Toleration Act and after its passage, and during the whole period whilst the Baltimore colony was under Catholic guidance. And so the objection falls.

The non-Catholic mind, in its generality, has been fed on such strange and erroneous notions of things Catholic and the Catholic attitude toward liberty of worship, that it is

slow to admit that the Catholic Pilgrims of Maryland were the first of all the American colonies to recognize the right of religious freedom. For this reason it is worth while to recall here some of the unimpeachable Protestant witnesses in support of this mark of Catholic good conduct. Dr. Clarke, on whose critical study of the subject we have already drawn, has assembled in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review", for 1895, the non-Catholic testimonials.

The first non-Catholic authority cited by Dr. Clarke is George Bancroft, who in his *History of the United States*, says: "Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the *first* in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institution with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The Asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as a basis of the state."

Another Protestant authority, Chalmers, in his *Annals*, says: "Lord Baltimore laid the foundations of his province upon the broad basis of security to property and of freedom of religion, granting, in absolute fee, fifty acres of land to every emigrant; establishing Christianity according to the old common law, of which it is a part, without allowing pre-eminence to any particular sect. The wisdom of his choice soon converted a dreary wilderness into a prosperous colony."

And in his *Commentaries on the Constitution*, Mr. Justice Story remarks: "It is certainly very honorable to the liberality and public spirit of the proprietary that he should

have introduced into his fundamental policy the doctrine of general toleration and equality among Christian sects (for he does not appear to have gone further), and have thus given the earliest example of a legislator inviting his subjects to the free indulgence of religious opinion. This was anterior to the settlement of Rhode Island, and therefore merits the enviable rank of being the first recognition among the colonists of the glorious and indefeasible rights of conscience."

LETTERS OF FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK TO THE
FAMILY OF GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.

1849 to 1863.

XXXVIII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 25 AUG., 1853.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I hasten to impart to you the good news that Dwight E. Lyman,¹ recently Episcopal minister at Columbia, is to make his profession of faith on Saturday. He has been preparing for some time. We must pray to God that he may have the blessed gift of perseverance. His mother, the widow of a presbyterian preacher, will be deeply pained, as also his brother:² but he has felt it to be his duty. Let us pray that they may have the like grace. The Misses Baker³ are not yet in the harbor. Mr. Baker is full of fervor.

I intend to send Prof. Allen by the first opportunity my revised Gospels, that, at his leisure, he may suggest further corrections. Remember me most affectionately to him and to the children, not forgetting Miss Lydia.

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. George Allen.

¹ See note on Dwight E. Lyman under Letter XXXVI, *Records*, Sept., 1920, p. 213.

² His brother evidently refers to the Rt. Rev. Theodore Dwight, P. E. Bishop of North Carolina.

³ Misses Baker—the reference is apparently to sisters of Francis A. Baker—see Letter XXXIII above.

XXXIX.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 11 SEPT., 1853.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I cannot wait until the 4th proximo to tell you good news, which your friends in Vermont will be glad to hear. Dr. Louis De Gosbriand is appointed Bishop of Burlington. He is a Frenchman, but has long labored in this country as a faithful missionary, and is at present Vicar General of Cleveland. His piety is eminent.

I may also edify you by stating that Dr. Robert Smith Welsh embraced the faith a week ago. Although the name is Catholic, he was of protestant descent, a native of Virginia, and fought in the war of Monterey with distinguished bravery. He has since practiced medicine at that place, and being on a visit to his sisters, who live here, he put in execution a determination which he had formed under the instruction of an edifying and learned Spanish priest.

My Vicar General⁴ is Bishop elect of Portland [Maine], but appears determined to refuse. George Carrell, S.J., a Philadelphian, is Bishop elect of Covington. Josue Young, a convert of New England, for many years a missionary at Lancaster, Ohio, is Bishop elect of Pittsburg, Dr. O'Connor having offered to accept the new See of Erie, in order to obviate objections to its erection.⁵ Joseph Melcher, V.G. of St. Louis is Bishop elect of Quincy, and Apostolic Administrator of Chicago, until the appointment of a Bishop to this latter See, which is to take place forthwith. The present Bishop⁶ [of Chicago] is transferred to Natches.

⁴ Vicar General Henry B. Coskery.

⁵ For details in the erection of the See of Erie see *Kenrick Letters*, pp. 357 to 366.

⁶ The present Bishop—Van de Velde.

Augustus Martin is Bishop elect of Natchitoches. Thaddeus Amat is Bishop elect of Monterey, the present Bishop [of Monterey] being transferred to San Francisco, which is [now] an Archiepiscopal See. Santa Fe has a Bishop in the person of the present Apostolic Vicar,⁷ who now takes his title from the city. Frederic Baraga is chosen Vicar Apostolic in Upper Michigan. There is no See for North Carolina, and no Vicariate for Florida. These items may be communicated to Mr. Major for publication.⁸ But the conversion of Dr. W. ought not to be published.

Please say to Prof. Allen that I admire his feats at chess, and sympathize in his defeats.

J. R. Bayley is Bishop elect of Newark, N. J. John Loughlin is Bishop elect of Brooklyn.

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK.

XL.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 6 DEC., 1853.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I never forget sweet Mary, and all your amiable children with my good friend Prof. Allen on my birth-day or any other. You are all very dear to me. Miss Starr⁹ has paid me several visits, and is very well disposed. Several other ladies are inquiring. Norman Hall of Columbia followed Mr. Lyman into the Church. Mr. L. is cheerful and fervent, notwithstanding the strictness of Seminary life. Mr. Baker is always most devoted. I am sure your friends

⁷ Present Bishop [of Monterey]—Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Archbishop of San Francisco, July 29, 1853.

John B. Lamy, later, 1857 first Archbishop of Santa Fe.

⁸ Henry Major was at this time editor of the *Catholic Herald*, Philadelphia.

⁹ Evidently Eliza Allen Starr, later convert.

in the north [Vermont] will be delighted with their Bishop [De Gosbriand.]

You must strive to keep your heart at rest, and sweetly raise it to God who is our Father. He loves us with more than a mother's love. We need fear nothing while we cling to Him. "Why art thou sad, O my soul, and why dost thou trouble me?" [Psalm XLII-5]. We must thus comfort ourselves when distress of mind arises. I pray God to support you under all trials and give you peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

St. Bernard and St. Francis are on my mantle piece, reminding me always of you.

Ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

XLI.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 6 DEC., 1853.

Dear Friend,

Your welcome gratulations and crushing pamphlet have been received with great pleasure. I think the University question is settled. Dr. P. can scarcely be displeased, although thwarted in a favorite scheme. His good sense must discover, with the aid of your *exposé*, its impracticability.

I am preparing a stereotyped edition of the *Primacy*,¹⁰ and will be truly grateful for any suggestions. I had intended to make it a reprint of the last edition, with some verbal alterations; but, on reading the *Mercersburg Review*, I was led to borrow largely from its pages. Dr. Nevin abounds in concessions which it is difficult to reconcile with his position. I hope he will follow out the course which he has so well traced.

¹⁰ For editions of the *Primacy* see *Kenrick Letters*, p. 258, note.

I am delighted with Mr. Allies' work on Peter, His Name and Office. Dr. Huntington¹¹ is to take charge of the Metropolitan beginning with the February number. He gave us his famous lecture on Thackeray as painter of English Society.

My "Four Gospels" are out of print; but, as the "Acts," etc. are still on hand, I shall not soon attempt a new edition, so that you need not hurry with your revision. When you write to Mr. Hoyt do not forget to give him my sincere respects.

Ever your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Geo. Allen, Esq.

XLII.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 1 FEB., 1854.

Dear Friend,

I shall be at home all the week. On Sunday I am to give Confirmation at St. Vincent's in this city. I shall be happy to receive Mr. Langton into the bosom of the Church. Mr. Norman Hall of Marietta was received by me a few weeks after his friend Mr. Lyman. Mrs. Muse of Cambridge was confirmed three weeks ago. She was [had been] an Episcopalian.

I hope that the friend who accompanies Mr. Langton may be yourself. I have a vacant room which I would be most anxious for you to occupy.

Miss Starr sees me occasionally. She was here on Monday.

I am sorry to hear of your declining health, but hope that by lessening your application to study you will recover.

I trust that Mrs. Allen is rapidly improving and that all your good children are well.

¹¹ Jedediah Vincent Huntington. See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 333.

Dr. Balfe has kindly consented to revise the proofs of the *Primacy*, which is now being stereotyped in your city [Philadelphia]. If any suggestion occurs to you for its improvement in any respect I shall be most thankful for it. I have already sent the whole first part to the printer: but the remainder is in my hands. Dr. Brownson's intimations that fear withholds us from maintaining his extreme views of the Temporal Power required me to say that I go quite as far as my convictions lead me. An able pen has taken the subject in hand for the *Metropolitan*.¹²

Remember me to Mrs. Allen and the children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Prof. George Allen.

XLIII

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEB. 23, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I am delighted to hear that Mr. Langton continues so fervent. We must all pray for perseverance, as so many trials await us in our course. Miss Starr visited me yesterday. I am sorry that your sister, Mrs. Hastings did not call. I should be greatly gratified at all times to see any of your relatives. Miss Lydia goes North without my seeing her. We shall, however continue in prayer. I shall attend to all your pious commissions. Sweet Mary especially shall not be forgotten. The improvement of your health, and of Mr. Allen's is consoling. Try to be without solicitude, and it will benefit your health. I send you a new work from the pen of a celebrated convert. How delight-

¹² A critique of Brownson's extreme views will be found in the *Metropolitan*, March, 1854, pp. 110-117, again in July, pp. 351-362.—The articles are not signed.

ful it is to see him so deeply imbued with the spirit of our holy faith. Remember me to Misses Elizabeth and Julia, and to Heman and George.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary F. H. Allen.

XLIV.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEB. 24, 1854.

Dear Friend,

I thank you for the corrections of which I shall avail myself. I am glad that your health improves. Do not let my works tempt you to apply yourself to reading, since there is now no likelihood of their being republished for a considerable time, with the exception of the Primacy, which is already in the hands of the printer in your city. Three converts came to my room on Sunday last to obtain places at Mass—Mr. Green, a lawyer of Troy, N. Y., about forty years of age: Mr. Caswell from the state of Massachusetts, and Mr. Fairbank, Librarian of some public Library at Boston. The Misses Baker are still out of the Church. One of them is very delicate in health. I pray God to restore your health perfectly, and give you consolation in your children, who are so good.

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Prof. Geo. B. Allen—

XLV.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 12 APRIL, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

The recurrence of the anniversary of the death of your sweet child [Mary] should fill you with gratitude to God,

whose mercies were so manifest in her. The clear insight which she had into the doctrines of faith, the tender devotion and great innocence of heart which she displayed, give the most solid foundation for hope. Her heavenly Father showed special love for her in snatching her out of this wretched life. I have every confidence that she is with Him in happiness.

These joyous festivals which are approaching should fill us with consolation.

I am glad that Mr. Faber's work has edified you so much. It is pleasing to hear a convert speak so tenderly and devoutly—Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen, and believe me ever your sincere friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Francis Allen.

(P.S.)—The Confraternity of the Precious Blood is not established in this country. There is an Order under that title in Ohio.

XLVI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 25 APRIL, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I am glad to perceive that you are in better spirits than when you last wrote to me. I shall attend to all your commissions. The work of Dr. Ives¹³ delights me. Revd. William Matthews of Washington, who for fifty years has been parish priest of St. Patrick's, seems near his end. I ask your prayers for this worthy priest, who is now in his 85th year. He is a native of Maryland.

My infirmity is not troublesome, or dangerous, now that the surgeon's knife has given vent to the collected matter.¹⁴

¹³ The work of Dr. Ives—evidently *Trials of a Mind in Search of Catholicism*, published first in 1853. A second edition, New York, 1856.

¹⁴ See *Kenrick's Letters*, p. 367—*Tumorem e dorso exciderunt*.

However, I do not expect to be free from infirmity altogether as I advance in life. We must bow to the divine will.

Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your good children, and believe me ever your devoted friend in X.

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary F. Allen.

XLVII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 4 MAY, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

The letter which you enclosed has edified me much. I pray that all your pious desires may be fulfilled. I shall not forget sweet Mary's birthday: but I trust that she is singing the praises of God with angelic choirs, and praying for those who were dear to her on earth.

God has taken from us a venerable priest, who for half a century was parish priest of St. Patrick's, Washington.¹⁵ His life was uniformly exact and regular, and his death was marked by calm hope tempered by humility.

Remember me affectionately to Prof. Allen and to your good children, as also to Miss Starr, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary F. Allen.

XLVIII

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, JULY 1, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I have cheerfully complied with your request. I trust that you will obtain your pious desire, but the ways of

¹⁵ Father William Matthews, ordained priest March 29, 1800, died April 30, 1854.

God are mysterious, and many obstacles are presented by the waywardness of men to the execution of his merciful counsels. The improvement of your health, with the many spiritual consolations attendant on your visit, repays the privations of your absence. Sweet Mary is missed, but her pure spirit may be conscious of your joys.

Very Revd. Dr. Newman¹⁶ has written to me asking the names of the bishops and of distinguished laymen to place on the books of the Irish University, which will be no trouble or expense to them. Perhaps Mr. Smally and Mr. Hoyt would allow their names to be enrolled as friends of the undertaking. If you see the Bishop¹⁷ please ask his name. I believe it is merely a token of good will. The Literary and professional titles and residence should be attached to the names. This is a little commission which I make bold to give you in the interest of religion and learning. I shall expect the name of Professor Allen.

Give my love to your good children and my respects to all your fervent friends.

Your devoted friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. M. F. Allen.

XLIX

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 26 JULY, 1854.

My dear friend,

I have just learned from Mrs. Allen that Mr. Hoyt¹⁸ and

¹⁶ John Henry Newman, later, 1879, Cardinal, was Rector of the Catholic University of Dublin, 1851-1857. See reference to this request of Newman in *Kenrick Letters*, pp. 371-372.

¹⁷ The Bishop evidently of Philadelphia—Neumann.

¹⁸ Hoyt—evidently William Henry Hoyt, convert, and late in life, after his wife's death, priest at St. Ann's, New York.—See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 265.

Mr. Smalley have consented that their names be inscribed on the books of the Irish University, as friends of the undertaking. Mr. S. has sent his address, but I must trouble you to give me in full that of Mr. Hoyt, together with any literary qualification or title he may have. It will gratify Dr. Newman to have your name; but if its publication could endanger your position in the University [of Pennsylvania] I would not wish it. Otherwise I beg of you to give me your literary designation, as well as official title. Dr. Newman wrote to me to obtain the names of distinguished Americans, observing that it would cost them neither trouble nor expense.

I am glad that Mrs. Allen and the children enjoy their visit. When you write to her please acknowledge in my name that I have received her letter, and that of Miss Elizabeth, whose request I shall attend to.

Mr. Baker made his profession on Sunday, and is now an acknowledged son of St. Alphonsus. He is now here, apparently in improved health and very happy. Mr. Lyman is in excellent disposition. Dr. Huntington and his lady have gone to the mountains of Cumberland. Frostburg has great attractions in this warm weather.

Remember me to Miss Julia, and believe me ever

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Professor George Allen
University of Pennsa

L.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 2 SEPT., 1854.

Dear Friend,

I have offered up the Holy Sacrifice this morning for Mr. Penniman, as you requested. I have also prayed for Mrs. Barlow, whom, however, I have not been able to identify,

as I presume her name was different when I received her into the Church. I pray for Mr. William Allen and all your friends; but not with the same confidence of success as you entertain. However all our reliance is on divine mercy, and prayer is our duty and consolation.

I have just received from St. Acheul in France a letter from D. Snively, a former student of Dr. Nevin, and now a candidate for the priesthood. He is convinced that his beloved professor desires to enter the Catholic Church, and regards the reformation as a rebellion against the authority placed by Christ in the See of Peter. He writes to see if the conversion of Dr. N. can be hastened; but I see no way of facilitating it but prayer.

Mr. Baker is pursuing his studies in the house of Redemptorists in this city. He is very fervent. A few weeks ago he delivered an address on education in a schoolhouse attached to a small church near the city. Miss Smith, a recent convert from a high family in Virginia, teaches in the school.

I hope to find you at home on my next visit to Philadelphia. As they are [now] progressing with the Cathedral, I have no longer an insuperable repugnance to visit it. The pleasure of seeing you and yours is not the least inducement. I pray that all may be blessed and protected.

Remember me affectionately to Miss Elizabeth and to Heman, and believe me

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary F. Allen.

[There are no letters in this collection between the above dated September 2, 1854 and the following, February 24, 1855. This fact is explained probably by the absence of the Archbishop in Europe. In a letter to

his brother, Peter Richard, of St. Louis, dated October 8, 1854, the Archbishop says that he has just received letters from Rome expressing the Pope's wish to have some American bishops present for the definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, December 8. "It seems," he says, "that I shall have to start on the way without delay." In another letter dated, Rome, Dec. 11, 1854, he says that he expects to start on the return journey December 15. See *Kenrick Letters*, pp. 376-385.]

LI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALT., WHITSUNDAY, 1854.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I offered up the Holy Sacrifice according to your intention this morning, at the altar of St. Alphonsus, where I confirmed above ninety. The devout demeanor of all was most edifying. Yesterday one hundred and fifty were confirmed in the metropolitan church, several of them converts. I am happy to learn that Mrs. Smalley's son's wife is on the point of joining the Church.

I rejoice with you in the success of Heman, and trust that he will continue to afford you consolation by his fervor as well as his talents. I hope George will improve in health, by his trip to the East. Mr. Allen will feel quite lonely when you all, but Julia, leave him: But he will gladly bear the inconvenience for the improvement of your health.

I am saddened at the wavering state of Miss Gray. Still I hope that God will lead her to the Church. Her prejudice against the devotion to the Blessed Virgin stands in the way, since Saint Alphonsus considers that all graces are dispensed through her intercession. Father Faber publicly says that he was walking in the "way of perdition," till the

Blessed Virgin took him by the hand, and led him to the path of salvation. Such strong language from a convert shows his deep conviction of the efficacy of her prayers. It would be strange to think that this view detracts from the glory of Christ, when we see how ardently the pious Oratorian loves Him. "All for Jesus" is his cry, although faith does not require us to take this precise view. It disposes us to cherish a profound and tender veneration for the Mother of Our Lord.

Miss Sharpe, daughter of a Baptist minister of Boston lately deceased, was among those confirmed on Sunday. Her sister, Mrs. Dr. Roby, was received into the Church two years ago.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to the children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. M. Allen.

LII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY 24, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

Joy and sorrow were excited by the details of your letter. I trust that kind providence will pour consolation into the heart of Miss Starr,¹⁹ and change her affliction into joy. I hoped always, notwithstanding her apparent determination not to change, and I prayed that God would give her strength to make all sacrifices in obedience to his will. It is to Him she must have recourse in her hour of trial. I remember her particularly at the holy altar.

A respectable convert was received here about the time of the festival [Christmas?]. However, as his wife is a

¹⁹ Miss Starr.—See Letter LIII below.

Catholic, and he had been accustomed to attend church, it did not awaken so much attention.

I am glad you have made the acquaintance of Miss Jane Edwards, who is so devoted—Please give my love to your good children, and believe me ever

Your constant friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary F. H. Allen.

LIII.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY 24, 1855.

Dear Friend,

I regret that you have had so much trouble with my work on the Gospels. There is no hurry, since, although it [the earlier edition of the Four narratives of the Gospel] is exhausted, there are on hand at the publishers some two hundred copies of the Acts and Epistles, which may be sold before the other is printed.

My work on the Primacy is now nearly stereotyped. I have been induced to notice in the Preface and notes the late letters of Dr. Hopkins addressed to me, which I have found too virulent to call for a special reply.

I have been very busy since my return [from Rome?], preparing my dogmatic Theology for the press, as the edition is nearly exhausted. It may, however, be some time before it will go to press.

I meant to stop in Philadelphia, and see you, but finding I could not reach this city by Sunday, if I delayed, I gave up the idea.

Mr. Hemans,³⁰ whom I saw in Rome, was greatly pleased to learn that your eldest son bore his mother's name.

³⁰ Mr. Hemans—probably Charles Isidore Hemans, son of Mrs. Felicia Hemans, the poet. He was a writer on History and Art, and died in Italy, 1876.

I would have anticipated your letter, had I not, on my return, found here a letter of Miss Starr²¹ written December 7, asking advice and requiring secrecy. As I wrote immediately to her, and received no reply, I did not know whether she was the relative of your family, who, Miss Johnson of Germantown wrote to me, had joined the Church. I rejoice to find that she is, and, though I have prayed for her, and always cherished hope, I fear that I have had little share in the happy event. The day on which she wrote, being the eve of the festival [of the Immaculate Conception], and the strong impulse she felt show some influences from above. I am sorry that she has had such severe trials, and especially her sickness, which must appear to her friends as a consequence of her change. I trust and pray that God may strengthen and console her.

I brought with me Archdeacon Wilberforce's work on the principles of Church authority, which is now being printed by Hedian and O'Brien. His preface is a touching one. In it he speaks of the apparent impossibility of abandoning ease and affluence, with loved friends, to obey conscience; but affirms that, in despite of all, the promises of Christ after eighteen hundred years, retain all their freshness.

I visited Dr. Faber at the Oratory near London, and found him a delightful man. Mr. Knox, who accompanied him into the Church, is a fellow-laborer with him. They are doing an immense good among the poor. At Liverpool I found another convert, named Collins, at the head of the Jesuit establishment. I saw Mr. Northcote at Rome in the Collegio Pio. Since the death of his wife he has made up his mind to embrace the ministry.

²¹ Miss Starr—see reference to her in Letter LII above, and in earlier Letters. Miss Elizabeth Allen Starr was received into the Church by Bishop Fitzpatrick in Boston, December 23, 1854, and received first Holy Communion on Christmas day in the convent Chapel of the Sisters of Charity.

My visit to Rome was full of consolations. The Pope was kind and munificent to us all. The Cardinals full of condescension; and the bishops who assembled had but one heart and one soul. There was perfect unanimity, after four days of free discussion of the formulary, or Bull, which has been modified in entire accordance with the suggestions of the prelates. The presiding Cardinal, Burnelli, wept from deep emotion.

With esteem and affection I remain

Your constant friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Geo. Allen, Esq.

Professor of Languages.

LIV.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, APRIL 3, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I have read with great interest the letters of Miss Starr, and hope to procure her literary talent some encouragement. Get her to write some lines of poetry or some piece of prose on any subject she pleases, and send them to me. I think that Murphy will accept her services for the Metropolitan Magazine as an occasional contributor.

I am now engaged in answering Dr. Hopkins, who addressed me a long series of letters. When the work is through the press, probably next week, I mean to drop down in Philadelphia.

The daughter of a deceased preacher, German Lutheran, was received [into the Church] yesterday by my Vicar General: And Miss Serena Spencer, formerly of Philadelphia, is about to be received at Washington, but both cases are as yet secrets.

I feel deep sympathy for Miss Starr, and pray that she may be strengthened to bear the cross.

When I go to Philadelphia I will try to furnish Miss Ewing with a substitute for the lost beads.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and the children.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. M. F. Allen.

LV.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, JULY 18, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I have complied with Miss Edwards' desire. I am highly pleased to learn that Mrs. Le Brun has returned to her duty. I trust that Dr. L., who was most edifying while at St. Mary's, will soon resume the practice of his religious duties. Last Thursday I confirmed Mr. Brent, the distinguished lawyer from Alexandria, who came here to be confirmed, having been prevented by sickness from receiving the Sacrament at the time of my visitation. Miss Abercrombie, grand daughter of the late minister, was confirmed at Washington with Miss Spencer of Philadelphia. Several are under instruction here.

In passing through your city I had no time to call, having to proceed in the 1 o'clock train to Baltimore. I am delighted to learn that your family is well and happy. Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen with your amiable children.

I have been disappointed in not finding Miss Starr's pieces in the Metropolitan of this month, and still hope to see them in the next number. It is Murphy's personal enterprise, and he is not, perhaps, a competent judge of true poetry.

I have given your note to Miss Dorothy.

Your sincere friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

LVI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, MAY 10, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I avail myself of the visit of Revd. E. Waldron to answer your note of the 29th ult. I complied with your request. Prayer is always acceptable to God, although we do not obtain the precise object of our petition, at least at the moment. Charity is exercised in praying for all, and in a special manner for those whose salvation particularly interests us.

Our Council²² proceeds with admirable harmony. We are not doing much, though the little we do may have important results.

I have not answered Miss Starr's last letter, not knowing her present address.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to your good children. I regret that I did not see Mr. Langton.

Your sincere friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

P. S. Say to Mr. Allen that I am truly thankful for his notes.

LVII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, AUG. 25, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I shall cheerfully comply with all your requests. I trust that God will preserve Dr. Higgins to his family. Miss Julia's birthday shall not be forgotten.

²² The eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore began its sessions, May 5, 1855.

It will gratify you to be informed that two weeks ago I confirmed Mr. Hopkins of White Marsh, who had been baptised a few days previously. He was a Quaker, and had reached his eighty-ninth year. His wife became a Catholic several years before her death.

Remember me to Miss Starr when you write to her. I feel the deepest interest in her spiritual progress and temporal welfare. The cross is, however, our portion. Give my love to Professor Allen and all your good children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Professor Allen
Phila.

LVIII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 18, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

Your note has been sent to me by Miss Mary Doherty, who received it in the absence of her sister now in your city. I shall cheerfully comply with your request as I feel a deep concern for Dr. L., who, when a student at Mount St. Mary's, was remarkable for piety. His good mother also has claims on me, which I can never forget, for kind attention and sympathy when I first settled in Philadelphia.

I am sorry for the death of Dr. Higgins, whom I could not see on his passage through this city, being about to start on my visitation, when apprized of his arrival. I sympathize deeply with Mrs. Higgins in her sad bereavement.

I sent you a few lines by Miss Eliza D., in which I mentioned my interest for Miss Starr. The secret of my silence has been my disappointment, having failed to interest Murphy in her contributions. He and his Committee

of Literary gentlemen are not the best judges of poetry, and the Metropolitan is absolutely his individual enterprise. Good Dr. Huntington could not please him, as he has his own ideas of what suits the market.

There is some hope of a conversion somewhere to the North East, which I mention only to secure prayers for one who has to struggle with strong family ties. Mr. Lyman is to receive subdeaconship next Saturday. I confirmed two lady converts this morning, one whose daughter died here a few weeks ago, having reluctantly left the Sacred Heart [Convent?].

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen. The revised edition of the New Testament will not likely go to press soon, as I am urged to publish first the Psalms and Sapiential Books, which I am now preparing. This mania surprises my friends. Give my love to your good children, and believe me with great respect

Your constant friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Professor Allen.

LIX.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, NOV. 9, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

Miss Doherty handed me your favor of the 5th inst. It appears that I was mistaken in stating that I had given her a letter for you. I was sorry to see her in such bad health.

I shall not forget Mary on the feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. I pray God to bless you all, and make you happy here and hereafter.

The lines in the Catholic Herald of yesterday signed Agnete are from the pen of Miss Starr. I hoped to get the publishers of the Mirror to patronize her, since I failed

with Murphy, but they appear to rely little on poetry to charm their readers, and their income is small. I wish much I could benefit her.

The widow of Judge Bayley of Cambridge, Maryland, was confirmed yesterday. Her daughter, Mrs. Muse, led the way above a year ago. They are fervent converts. Mr. Nelligan, an Irish Gentleman, who for twelve years exercised the ministry in England, is now here on his way to Emmitsburg to prepare for the priesthood. Since he became a Catholic he has spent three years in Rome engaged in study.

Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen, and your sweet children.

I write, of course to Heman in reply.

Your sincere friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary H. F. Allen.

LX.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER 4, 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

Your annual greeting²² always proves most acceptable. Good wishes renewed with fervent prayers poured out before God awaken necessarily grateful and pleasing thoughts. I pray that God may continue to bless you in your devoted husband and children, and bind you to Himself more closely by ties of tender and enduring love.

The sickness of Miss Starr gives me great pain; but God disposes all things for the salvation of his elect. I was mortified in not succeeding with Murphy to insure her labors for the Metropolitan. The Mirror published her sweet

²² Annual greeting refers evidently to a yearly token of remembrance of the Archbishop's birthday—he was born December 3, 1796, in Dublin. The reference may be also to feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 2.

lines on St. Gudula, but made no advances to insure future contributions, it means being limited. I shall always be ready to serve her to the utmost of my power.

How sweet is the recollection of your dear Mary. Her innocence prepared her for the society of the angels of God.

I shall remember your charitable commissions. Prayer is always good, although we may not see its results, which, however, occasionally are very perceptible.

The coming feast [Immaculate Conception?] will be celebrated in a small church dedicated to the Mystery on the edge of this city on Saturday. Two good priests of St. Vincent of Paul are engaged there in the duties of the ministry. A large and beautiful church with the same title is in progress.

I sent your note to Miss Eliza. She is somewhat better.

I write in reply to Miss Elizabeth. I hope that Julia's health will soon improve. Hemy and George will, I trust, fulfill your most sanguine expectations. Give my love to all, and especially to Professor Allen.

Mr. Ryder, son of the late Anglican Bishop of Litchfield, has lately visited us, as also Mr. Nelligan, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, both fervent converts. Mr. Ryder, on giving up his living for the faith, had but one hundred pounds in his pocket with the burden of a wife and seven children to support. Mr. Nelligan is preparing for orders at Emmitsburg. He is about forty years of age, and was for twelve years in the English ministry. He concurred with Mr. Anderson in preparing the life of Bishop Ken.

Converts drop in from time to time. A Mr. Armor, a lawyer from Frederick, was under instructions a few weeks ago. I presume he has since been received.

With great respect I remain,
Dear Mrs. Allen,

Your devoted friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary H. F. Allen.

LXI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FESTIVAL OF ST. JOHN
EV. (DEC. 27), 1855.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I reciprocate heartily all your kind wishes, and pray God to bless you and your excellent family. I feel grateful for the kind remembrance of Miss Ewing and Madame Thompson. I am glad that you have gotten yourself enrolled as a child of Mary, since it draws you still nearer to Our Lord.

We have nothing to boast of here in the way of conversions; but I am trying to dispose an old man, who was brought up an Episcopalian, and now, in death, seeks to follow the example of his brother, who died in the Faith. He was never a communicant in the Episcopal Church.

We expect a great treat from Dr. Ives tomorrow evening.

When you write to Miss Starr assure her of my sympathy in her sickness and trials.

Say to Professor Allen that I am going to press again. The Psalms and Sapiential Books are to be published forthwith, by Laughlin brothers in your city.

Remember me affectionately to him [Mr. Allen] and to all your good children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs Allen

Phila.

LXII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, APRIL 10, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I remembered sweet Mary, your angel child, in the holy Sacrifice this morning, with the good Bishop of Hartford, who no doubt has shared the fate of the passengers of the *Pacific*.²⁴ It is sad to be snatched from life far from every dear friend, and without the ordinary consolations of religion; but God is on the deep as well as on land, with his faithful servants to sustain them in the last struggle.

I received a long letter from Miss Starr, painfully interesting, and I replied to it without delay. She has been severely tried, but God has supported her in a wonderful manner, since she bears all without a murmur, and clings with unswerving faith to the Church in which she has found her peace of mind and heart. I hope she may recover strength sufficient to enable her to take the journey westward with her good mother, whose affection led her to travel to her [from Chicago to Boston probably] in the depth of winter.

I did not answer the last letter of Miss Gartland, because I had written to her a short time before, and saw that she was still in the same distressed state of mind. I feel very much for her.

I shall attend to your commissions for Dr. L. I hope his good mother and sisters are well. Mrs. L. is always remembered most gratefully and respectfully.

I pray that Heman and George may rival Elizabeth and Julia in fervor, and that you may be all most happy.

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

²⁴ The Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, second Bishop of Hartford, sailed from Liverpool for New York, Jan. 23, 1856, in the *Pacific*. The ship never reached port, evidently was lost with all on board.

LXIII.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, APRIL 10, 1856.

Dear Sir,

I enjoyed an unexpected pleasure by the receipt of your favor. I am pleased to learn that your relations with the University are so agreeable, and that your health is so much improved.

It has never been my good fortune to meet with Dr. Hopkins,²⁵ although we have corresponded for so many years. It is an advantage to know each other intimately, since many false impressions vanish on acquaintance. I am equally unacquainted with my neighbor here, though I am very favorably impressed with his learning and moral character as reported by others.

Dr. Ives edified us much during his visit. A respectable lawyer of his acquaintance called on him, and evinced deep interest in the Church. His daughter, a highly educated lady, appears determined to join the Church, but her parents do not appear to advance towards it. Several drop in here from time to time: Ladies frequently: Lawyers more rarely, but occasionally, and other men of intelligence now and then. We cannot boast that our religion makes rapid strides.

My revised translation of the Psalms and Sapiential Books goes slowly through the press in your city. I do not hope to put the Gospels, etc. to press for a long time.

With sincere esteem and attachment I remain,

Dear Sir

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Professor Geo. Allen

University Pennsylvania.

²⁵ This appears to refer to John Henry Hopkins, P. E. Bishop of Vermont.

LXIV.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, MAY 7, 1856.

Dear Sir,

I beg to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Auguste Charlier, a respectable French Gentleman, who is traveling for information. He desires to become acquainted with our institutions. Any attention you can pay him during his stay in Philadelphia will oblige

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

*Geo. Allen, Esqr.**Prof. Univ. Penns'a.*

LXV.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, JUNE 11, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I purposed availing myself of the liberty of delay which you gave me, but a letter of Professor Allen with an enclosure from Miss Edwards requires immediate acknowledgement. Please say to her that I shall comply with her request, and offer her the expression of my sincere sympathy on her sudden bereavement. The advanced age of her good mother must have prepared her in some degree for the event, but her ordinary good health and complexion gave hopes of some more years of life. The only solicitude we need have is about the necessary preparation for the great change. Mrs. E. was habitually prepared, having lived in the constant discharge of her religious duties. May she rest in peace.

It would be altogether premature to make an arrangement for a year to come, since it is not unlikely that Wash-

ington may be before that time the see of a Bishop.²⁶ Besides I never hold ordinations in Convents, as I deem it wrong to intrude on the retirement of religious ladies.

I was sorry not to have met you on my late visit, but the fault was not [ours] on either side. I feel always the liveliest interest in your good family, and pray that you all may be blessed by Almighty God.

I trust that Miss Starr may recover her strength, and be the means of drawing her dear parents to the Faith.

Mr. Lyman is to be ordained priest on St. Peter's day. He has nobly stood the searching discipline of the Seminary. Mr. Baker is to be ordained in October. Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to all your good children. I shall not forget Bessie's request.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Prof. Allen
Phila.

LXVI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, JULY 9, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

As Professor Allen has consulted me on your behalf in regard to the propriety of your making a retreat I answer you directly that I think it inexpedient. In your circumstances every thing that might excite or distress the mind should be avoided, and tranquility of conscience should be guarded with care. It is far safer to proceed as you have hitherto done in the discharge of your religious duties than to risk the unsettling of your conscience by extraordinary exercises. I feel that I need add no more to determine your acquiescence in my counsel.

²⁶ For the plan to make Washington an Episcopal See.—See *Kenrick Letters*, pp. 326-335, 375-377.

In general it is better to have but few vocal prayers, that we may be more at liberty for mental exercises, which, however, should never be performed with too great an effort. The way of salvation, and even of perfection is simple. Saint Augustine says: "Love, and do as you please." There is no danger of your misconceiving the force of this beautiful precept.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your good children, and believe me ever

Your devoted father in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Prof. Allen.

LXVII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. JULIANA, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

This feast does not suffer me to forget Miss Julia, whom by accident I placed under the protection of this Saint.²⁷ The mother Superior at Brooklyn, a niece of Father Matthews, is also called Juliana, and as she is loved and revered as an aged and faithful spouse of Our Lord, the festival excites particular devotion in the convent. I send you the picture of St. Francis which mother Pauline has given for the purpose.

I am sorry that my answer²⁸ made you uneasy. I certainly was not displeased with you; but I know you would not wish me to depart from my fixed rules, even to gratify you. I understood of course that you did not originate the idea of an ordination in a Convent Chapel; and I was

²⁷ This refers evidently to the fact that the Archbishop, then Bishop of Philadelphia, received the child into the Church together with other members of the family, October, 1847.—See *Kenrick Letters*, pp. 265-266.

²⁸ See Letter LXVI above—reference to a future ordination in a Convent Chapel.

aware that ordinations had been made there by my predecessors. But, as I think retirement and silence most suitable for religious retreats, I am resolved never to transfer to them functions that may be performed elsewhere with propriety. It is enough for them to have their religious professions. Even a mother's feelings should not be gratified to the prejudice of religious tranquility. In answering your letter I felt that I was saving her the pain of a direct refusal.

Father Hewitt²⁹ is to preach in the Cathedral at the ordination of Mr. Lyman on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. He preached a powerful sermon last Sunday at the opening of St. John's Church in this city.

Mr. Poe of Georgetown, an aged gentleman, whose daughter was baptized last year by the Archbishop of New York, has followed her example. The niece of Commodore Smith and the wife of Mr. Demetry have done in like manner. These latter were confirmed by me at Washington on Monday.

Please say to Professor Allen that I expect him to interpret my words in the kindest manner when you are concerned. Remember me affectionately to him and to your good children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

LXVIII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. AUGUSTINE
(AUG. 28), 1856.

Dear Friend,

I have offered up the holy Sacrifice for Julia, whom I

²⁹ Father Hewitt, later, in 1858, one of the five original members of the Congregation of the Paulists.—See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 410.

congratulate on the return of her birthday. I pray that all blessings may be given to each member of your excellent family, and that you may remain steadfast in faith and grace to the end.

It gives me always great satisfaction to receive news of Miss Starr, who has so well corresponded to the grace of faith. May she soon recover her health and be the means of drawing her good mother and all her friends to the bosom of the Church. The grace of God is constantly adding to her members, whilst the children of the Kingdom are cast out.

Rev. D. E. Lyman is exercising his ministry with great fervor. Mr. Baker is to be ordained on the 21st September. I hope that your sister Lydia's health will improve, Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to all of the children, and believe me ever—

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

LXIX.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, Nov. 5, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I have complied with the request of Miss Starr, and written to her. On the feast of St. Charles I offered the holy Sacrifice in the Chapel of the College, fifteen miles from the city, where eighty-four lads are training for the ministry. The Sulpician priests so distinguished for their piety and zeal have them in charge.

I shall not forget you all on the thirteenth and fourteenth³⁰ inst., which recall so many interesting circumstances

³⁰ The thirteenth and fourteenth inst. refers evidently to some fact or event in the life of the convert family. They were received into the Church in October, 1847. Possibly this may mark the anniversary of Confirmation or Holy Communion.

in my mind. Good Mary is the only one of the number that is missing, but she is in her Father's house praising and blessing him for his mercies in snatching her from a vain world.

I have not found the picture of St. Peter of Alcantara, but I enclose that of St. Teresa, who esteemed him very highly.

Give my love to Miss Bessie and Julia with Heman and George. Remember me very affectionately to Professor Allen, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

P.S. I enclose the letter for Miss Starr. The picture of St. Elizabeth is to accompany it when you send it.

LXX.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, DEC., 4, 1856.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I thank you for your kind greetings on the return of my birthday.⁸¹ I now enter on my sixtieth year. The last act of the year just expired was to revise the last proof sheets of my forthcoming work on the Psalms and Sapiential Books, now in press in your city.

I have complied with your request to-day and shall remember you and the Professor on your birthdays that are so near at hand.

Today we consigned to the grave Miss Mary Stenson, sister of my predecessor.⁸² She was remarkable for the innocence of her life, the latter years of which were passed

⁸¹ Birthday—December 3.

⁸² Samuel Eccleston—Mary Stenson appears to have been a half-sister.

in retirement on account of mental weakness. I am naturally reminded, by her name, of your own dear child, so innocent and pious—Happy souls, free from the guile and defilements of the world!

You will be pleased to know that an intelligent lady of high respectability is knocking at the door of the Church. Her brothers are officers in the Navy. She applied to Dr. Cox, and declared her inclination to join the Catholic Church. He endeavored to dissuade her by most unjust representations of the moral system of St. Alphonsus, and actually charged her to ascertain from me whether the statements made in the two first volumes of his moral Theology were not conformable to his assertions. She presented the books, but was soon satisfied with my explanation. Pray for her that she may follow up her inquiries.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your dear children, all of whom I pray may be blessed of God.

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Professor Allen.

LXXI.

(TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEB. 16, 1857.

Dear Friend,

It was a real pleasure to hear from you after so long silence. The movement in favor of Brownson originated as you suppose, the Bishop of Albany having intimated that the number of subscribers is very small. Many more might have been procured here but for the lesson given in the last number to the incoming administration. You know how sore the Southerners are on this point. For my part I appreciate the independence of the Reviewer, who, if deficient in prudence, abounds in manly courage. I fear that he will not be generally sustained, since many express kind wishes

without giving efficient aid. I should regret extremely the discontinuance of the Review for his sake and for our cause.

The Psalms are out of press, but I do not see them advertised, although a single copy was left with me about a week ago. I have availed myself of your suggestion and put aside "*justification*," adopting "*precepts*" on the authority of St. Jerome. This was somewhat bold, especially where the hallowed term occurs so frequently. To gain support in the innovation I have sought the protection of Cardinal Wiseman, whom I have addressed by way of petition not to grate republican ears with Lordly titles. The McLaughlins sold the printed work to Lucas without providing for my rights as author, so that I find myself without a copy but the one left at my door. I shall try to manage better when I put the Prophets to press.

Young Mr. Hoyt called on me on his way to Emmitsburg and thence to Georgetown. I do not know whether he has been able to continue his studies. When you write to his good father give him my cordial remembrance and respects.

Believe me with sincere attachment

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Professor Geo. Allen.

LXXII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, FEB. 16, 1857.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I am always pleased to hear from you, and to hear of the health and happiness of all your amiable family. I feel very much interested in the case you state, and pray that the good child may persevere. Poor Mr. Major!²³ I pity him

²³ Mr. Major—refers evidently to Henry Major, a convert in Philadelphia, 1846. In 1856 Mr. Major was estranged from the Church, but returned to the Fold in 1858. Mr. Major died, April 19, 1873, was buried in the New Cathedral Cemetery, Philadelphia.—See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 408, note.

very much. His trials were great, and he appeared to have no one to whom he could confide the distress of his mind. Mrs. Major, I have been assured repeatedly, perseveres; but I know it only from one or two clergymen, who, I presume, saw her in the church or at the Sacraments. Perseverance is a great grace by which faith is crowned. We must throw ourselves entirely on God and go forward in the thorny path in which He wishes us to walk.

Our converts here are very fervent. Revd. Mr. Lyman is exemplary. Father Baker has corresponded to his former good name by zeal and devotedness not easily surpassed. An English Gentleman, named Wilson, on a bed of sickness, yesterday asked to be received into the Church. His wife is sister of an excellent priest, Revd. J. McNally, a native of France, whose father, an Irishman, died here a few months ago.

If you write soon to Miss Starr please say to her that I directed my publishers a week ago to send her the *Psalms*, etc. I should have supplied my friends generally, but the printers, McLaughlins, *fairly* sold me to the Lucas brothers, and placed the matter beyond my control.

I hope to see you on your way to Georgetown. Professor Allen should come along. If he would take the trip it would benefit his health. I must write to him, as he has favored me with a few lines. Give my love to your good children, Bessie, Julia, Heman and George, and believe me always

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

LXXIII.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, 21 MARCH, 1857.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I complied with your request, though I was surprised to find that St. Antony, whose feast comes on the seventeenth of January, takes with you the place of St. Patrick.

I sympathize greatly with Mr. Tiers. It is seldom that the course of a carbuncle or cancerous affection is arrested by prayer or medical aid. God wishes us to be sanctified by patience that we may be weaned from the world, which is so apt to engross our affections. I shall still pray that Mr. Tiers may get relief.

I have directed the publishers of the *Mirror* to send you this week's number, which contains some sweet lines on the Cross from E. A. S.,³⁴ whom you cannot mistake.

As you are interested for the increase of the number of Converts, I recommend for your lists the widow and eldest daughter of the late General Carpenter of Rhode Island, who are here. He became a Catholic several years before his death. They [mother and daughter] are still Unitarians, but with a strong desire to believe. Two younger daughters are already Catholics.

We have buried today a very holy priest, Father Poirier of the Redemptorist Congregation. Father Knackstedt, a Jesuit, who died a few weeks since, was likewise in high reputation for sanctity. Please give my love to Professor Allen and your good children and believe me ever

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Allen

Phila.

³⁴ Eliza Allen Starr.

P.S. This week has witnessed the death of two very aged converts, the relicts of two brothers, Solomon and Thomas Hillon. The former was about seventy, the latter eighty-three years of age. They died full of good works as well as of years.

LXXIV

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, APRIL 7, 1857.

Dear Friend,

I complied with your wishes this morning, remembering sweet Mary at the holy Altar, and offering the Sacrifice for her. I was also mindful of Heman and your other good children. Bessie shall not be forgotten. I am sorry that her eyes are so weak. I heard lately from Miss Starr.

The papers have apprized you that your good Bishop is to have a coadjutor in the person of Dr. Wood. He is a native of Philadelphia, a convert, son of Dr. Wood, formerly attached to the Pennsylvania Hospital. I have no doubt that he will do great good. His manners are winning, and he has great tact and experience in the management of affairs. He is about 44 years of age.

I passed Sunday before last at Annapolis with the Redemptorists, where I was edified by the prints [evidences] of the zeal of Revd. F. A. Baker. He is likely to do immense good. Mrs. Stewart, sister of Bp. Johns is under his charge. She became a Catholic above twenty years ago in Philadelphia, under the instruction of Dr. Hughes, and has continued steadfast. Although blind, and above seventy years of age she is very intelligent and devout. Revd. Fr. Baker visits her at her son's—Dr. Stewart. I called with him to see her.

One of the Misses Carpenter, A Catholic, has approached the Sacraments since her arrival here. The other con-

tinues very favorably disposed, though not yet a believer, Her mother is in the same disposition.

I suppose your attention has been directed to the edifying death of Revd. Charles R. Parkenham, brother of the Earl of Longford, and formerly Captain of her Majesty's guards. His conversion is among the most remarkable—Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and all your good children, Julia, George, etc., and believe me ever
Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Allen
Phila.

LXXV.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, MAY 30, 1857.

Dear Friend,

Miss Edwards assumed the name of Sister Agnes of the Immaculate Conception on Thursday last, at the same time that Miss Murray of New York, whose father is Purser in the Navy, took the habit of Mount Carmel. The ceremony was hurried as I was obliged to attend the funeral of Miss Anna Eliza Tiernan, who closed a good life by a most serene and edifying death. Miss Juliana Chatard²⁵ two

²⁵ Miss Julianna Chatard—Sister of the bishop of Indianapolis, Silas Francis Chatard—she was born in Baltimore, Jan. 27, 1833, died at Emmitsburg, April 26, 1917. During the civil war Sister Julianna did noble work at the front, in the Hospitals of Richmond, Va., 1861 to 1865. In 1867 she was sent to France for special seminary or novitiate training in the work of the Institute. After fifteen years in the Seminary she was sent to Mobile, Alabama. In 1885 she was recalled and sent to Paschalville, West Philadelphia, where she remained until 1895. Her next work was the opening of St. Joseph's Infant House, Utica, N. Y., 1895. In 1900 she was placed in charge of the Seton Home for working girls, Troy, N. Y. Her last years were spent at the Central House, Emmitsburg.—Notes to F. E. T. from Mother Margaret, Emmitsburg, Feb. 7, 1921.

days before left her parents to commence her trial as postulant for the Sisters of Charity. She is highly accomplished, daughter of an eminent physician, who reluctantly suffered her to execute a purpose entertained for at least two years. These facts prove what the lamented Robert Wilberforce remarked, that the Gospel promises still retain their influence on the hearts and wills of men.

I confirmed on this day week a physician, Dr. Dyson, brought to the faith through the influence of his devoted wife, sister of Haly,⁸⁶ the painter formerly of Boston, now of Chicago. The Doctor is in very precarious health.

I have just been favored with some lines from Miss Starr. I shall send you a Mirror of next week, which will contain them, also this week's number.

I am happy to find that Mrs. Dana's thoughts are directed to the Catholic Church. When I was giving doctrinal lectures at St. John's [Philadelphia] some of the family of Judge Peters attended, as I was informed, until Mr. Odenheimer⁸⁷ interposed.

I have attended to all your commissions, and I shall remember sweet Mary on the feast of St. Antony especially. Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and all your good children, and believe me ever

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

⁸⁶ Haly—probably George Peter Alexander Healy, American portrait painter, born 1818, died 1894.

⁸⁷ William Odenheimer was rector of St. Peter's P. E. Church, Philadelphia, 1839-1859, later Bishop of New Jersey.—See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 241.

LXXVI.

(TO MRS. ALLEN.)

BALTIMORE, JULY 10, 1857.

Dear Mrs. Allen,

I hope you will persuade Professor Allen to take the trip. The ordination is fixed for 23-24-25 inst., in the College Chapel. The new priests will, I presume, celebrate [first Mass] on the 26th—Mr. Fulton probably in the Chapel of the Convent.

I have had a very pleasant visit from Mr. Hoyt,³⁸ who no doubt stopped with you on his return. I regret that I did not see his Lady [Mrs. Hoyt].

I desire very much to hear of Miss Gray's being landed on the shore of Catholicity. The gift of faith is mysteriously dispensed. Some are left without it, who to our view have excellent dispositions. How deeply I regret that Dr. Kane did not receive it, as far as I can learn. I found among the papers of my predecessor a letter of the Archbishop of Manila regarding him, which shows the interest he felt for him. Thinking that it might please his father to have it, I enclose it, begging of you to hand it to Miss Gray with my best respects.

Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and all your good children. It will be a great consolation for me to see you here, and to make you acquainted with some of our devoted Catholics. I pray for you all with continued earnestness.

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, A.B.

Mrs. Mary Allen.

³⁸ Mr. Hoyt—probably William Henry Hoyt, convert 1846. Had been close friend of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont. After the death of his wife he was ordained priest in 1877—died at St. Ann's, New York, Dec. 11, 1883.—See *Kenrick Letters*, p. 265, note.

JOSEPH PERCY KEATING

By WALTER GEORGE SMITH

After a life of great industry, unselfish purpose, and abiding faith in Catholic Truth, Joseph Percy Keating passed to his eternal reward on the twenty-second day of December, A. D. 1920.

His death has brought grief to all who knew him intimately and has caused a distinct loss to the community. His qualities of mind and heart were so justly balanced, his whole life was so interfused with Christian charity in thought and in deed, that it is not easy to restrain a temptation to give a praise which might seem exaggerated. His life was not a hidden one. He took the place in his profession, in his business, in charitable activities and in social relations, which his education and birth demanded. His clear perception of the rules of justice made it a duty which he never shirked, to meet their demands for himself, and to enforce them wherever his influence extended. Yet withal, his real humility was so deep, his natural character so gentle, that the iron hand was always concealed by the velvet glove. He won his way by the exercise of reason enforced by kindness and courtesy. As a lawyer, he was trusted by his client and respected by the court, being always true to both, as the obligation of the profession requires. As a director and manager of great financial corporations, he was safe, conservative, and thorough. In charitable societies he gave of his time and of his wealth with a generosity that taxed his strength often beyond its limit.

Of singularly handsome person, with grace and winning charm of manner, his presence was welcomed in any circle, for added to his natural gifts, his mind was enriched

by wide and careful reading. Without obtrusion his learning whether of his profession, or general philosophy, or literature, was willingly shared. He never flinched from controversy if it was forced upon him, but he did not seek it. His utter sincerity won the respect of those who differed from him, and he was content to carry out in his own consistent conduct the teachings of a faith that was as a second nature to him. So it was that men loved him and trusted him, who at first knew nothing of the mainspring of all his actions. When, as was inevitable, closer association showed that it was not natural virtue alone, but a perfect acceptance of supernatural truth which made him what he was, harsh and distorted judgments gave way to respect for the great Mother Church whose typical son he was. It was well said of him :

“ From the time of his early manhood he was a devoted son of the Church He lived and died in the very heart of the church.”

He never sought excuses to make the practice of his religion more easy. The Catholic Church had been the study of his whole lifetime. He loved her doctrines, her temples, her ritual, and often said in the words of the Psalmist :

‘ I have loved, oh Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.’ ”

He came of distinguished ancestry, always Catholic. His forbears had their seat originally in the County of Limerick. Sir Geoffrey Keating, after the siege of Limerick, went to France with James the Second, and he was the last of the family to live in Ireland. His grandson, Sir John Keating, was educated at Douai, served in the French Army and became a Chevalier de St. Louis. Escaping from the horrors and perils of the revolution of 1793, by reason of detached service, he came to America and survived until 1856, when he died at the great age of 96. An interesting sketch

of his life was written by his descendant, and appears in the *Records* of this Society.

Joseph Percy Keating was born on the 13th day of May, 1855. His father was Dr. William V. Keating, an eminent physician, of Philadelphia, and his mother before her marriage was Susan de la Roche. He graduated from the Georgetown University in 1875 with honor. He read law with Peter McCall, Esq. and in due time was admitted to the Bar. He was in practice until his death. He was counsel for the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society, a Director of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities, and of The Insurance Company of North America. His active benevolence will appear from the list of religious and charitable corporations to which he gave much attention. He was a manager of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, of St. Joseph's Hospital, of St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, of St. Vincent's Home, of the Jefferson Hospital, of the Archdiocesan branch of the National Catholic Welfare Council, and of the Catholic Boy Scouts. His purse was ever open to aid the distressed, and his time at their command. One of his notable charities was service on the Visiting Committee of St. Vincent's Home. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of special care for orphan and derelict infants, and for years he studied the problem of securing for them the nurture and treatment that would preserve their lives.

He married in his young manhood Catherine Eugenia Dixon, the daughter of Fitz Eugene Dixon, of Philadelphia. Their congeniality of taste and temperament gave them many years of happiness, marred though it was by Mrs. Keating's delicacy of health. Her death, which occurred within the year preceding her husband's, struck him to the heart. For a time he struggled under the shock of his bereavement, but in this supreme moment, as in lesser trials,

his abiding faith gave him strength. He survived the blow, although tried to the uttermost limit, and yielded to the will of God with Christian fortitude. It seemed he had adjusted his life to its sadly changed conditions. He had taken up the burden of his responsibilities. His oldtime serenity was apparently restored, and those who were nearest and dearest to him were sanguine that he had yet some years of usefulness before him. It was not to be. His final illness was of brief duration. Fortified by the last sacraments of the Church, with full appreciation of the imminent change, he passed reverently and calmly from time to eternity with perfect reliance upon the mercy of his Creator and his Judge.

The Records of the American Catholic Historical Society contain the names and accomplishments of many a pioneer of the Faith when the land was new and conditions, though arduous, very simple. Mr. Keating's life was cast in times when conditions social, economic, and political, were most complex; when the subtle temptations against faith are harder to resist because of the atmosphere of materialism and irreligion which is all pervading; when to retain the humility, simplicity and dignity of the faith of Christ requires patience, self-control, and adequate learning. Our friend failed not under any trial. He was withal an ardent patriot, sensitive for his country's honor, eager for her to deal generously as well as justly in her international and domestic relations. Whatever the problem, the light he held for its solution was the gospel light of justice, infused, amplified and fulfilled in charity.

His loss to the community and to his friends and relatives, in whose hearts the niche he held cannot be filled by another, is very great. In these days of stress and doubt, and emotional theories which threaten the foundations of our social and political fabrics, the world can ill spare a mind so sane and a heart so pure.

IN MEMORIAM

The following minutes on the death of Mr. J. Percy Keating, Dr. Edward J. Nolan, and the Hon. John M. Campbell, were adopted by the Board of Managers in meeting of the eleventh of January, 1921.

I.

Mr. J. Percy Keating, who died after a brief illness on the 22 December, 1920, was a member of this Society for thirty-five years, having joined in 1885 within a few months of its organization. During this period his interest in the undertakings of the Society was constant and practical. Elected to the Board of Managers in 1912, he served in that capacity for two terms, until his resignation in 1914 to become Chairman of Trustees of Research and Endowment Fund, which position he held at the time of his death.

To this brief record of the late Mr. Keating's attachment to the work of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia the Board of Managers feels constrained to add the testimony of its appreciation of the deceased's services and to express its sorrow in the loss of an esteemed member. His enlightened interest in the part being played by the Church toward the upbuilding of the Republic could always be counted on. Solid in both his knowledge of and his loyalty to Catholicity and sterling in character, considerate in mind and manners, he attained high standing in the community as a patriotic citizen and as a worthy representative at all times and everywhere of his co-religionists.

II.

Whereas it has come to the notice of the Board of Directors of the American Catholic Historical Society that Dr. Edward J. Nolan has passed from our midst to his reward among the faithful, therefore be it resolved that the Board place on record and send to his family the following minute:

Dr. Edward J. Nolan was a member of the Society from 1891 to the time of his death. He was a member of the Board of Directors as chairman of the Committee on Library and Cabinet from 1892 to 1899, and he was a member of the Committee on Library and Cabinet for the year 1915 to 1916. While chairman of the Committee on Library and Cabinet, he with Dr. Gregory B. Keen worked out a modification of the Dewey Decimal System of classifying and cataloguing the Library of the Society and during the years of his incumbency of the Chairmanship of the Library Committee he superintended the cataloguing of the Library of the Society. The Society and the public are much indebted to Dr. Nolan for his valuable services. His technical knowledge and devotion to the cause in which the Society labors have made the Library and Cabinet of the Society useful for edification and increase of knowledge. As a member of the Society he always was ready to participate in whatever was for the welfare of the Society.

The Board of Directors extends to the family of Dr. Nolan its most heartfelt sympathy in the loss which it has sustained.

III.

John Marie Campbell, died at the age of sixty-nine, on December 25, 1920. For twenty-one years the deceased had been an interested member of the American Catholic Historical Society. Among other evidences of his support of the work of this body may be mentioned his donation to our Library of Henry R. Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (six very valuable volumes); also the *Lives and Times of the Popes*, by Artand de Montor (ten volumes). In 1894 Mr. Campbell wrote for the Society's *Records* a biographical sketch of his distinguished father, the Hon. James Campbell, one time Postmaster General of the United States. The Society records his loss as that of a friend upon whose devotion and counsel it could count with confidence.

HISTORY OF CATHOLICITY IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. A. D. 1737-1920

BY the REV. JOHN E. McCANN, Rector of St. Bernard's. Easton

EARLY DAYS IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY—ORIGINAL CATHOLIC SETTLERS—EARLY PERSECUTIONS

(Continued.)

List of civil war veterans in St. Bernard's and St. Joseph's cemeteries, Easton, Pa. In view of the complaints of the National Catholic Welfare Council that it can not secure data from the parishes concerning the Catholic dead of the World War the following list of known dead buried in Easton Catholic cemeteries should be of interest and value. It helps show the part played by Northampton County Catholics in the Civil, Spanish and World Wars.

In St. Bernard's Cemeteries

James A. Anderson, James Boyle, John Boyle, John Cummiskey, Martin Dempsey, Matthew Delaney, James Dougherty, Peter Fisher, James Gallagher, Wm. Gross, John Lynagh, Pete Langton, Andrew McLoughlin, John McCarthy, John McLaughlin, Dennis McGinley, John McMakin, James Mooney, James Miles, Thos. Morrison, W. Nightingale, John Nightingale, Ephrem N. R. Ohl, Wm. Prendergast, John Shockency, John Whelan, Wm. McLaughlin, John McGeady, Wm. Geberty, John Geberty, Peter Liner, Thos. and John Callaghan, of the Civil War; Lt. F. P. Wolf of the Spanish and John F. Gallagher of the World War are among the known dead in St. Bernard's South Easton Cemetery and Edw. C. Rafferty of the World War and Edw. Flynn of the Spanish War lie in Gethsemane

Cemetery, in Palme Township, three miles from Easton. While Lt. Austin Hanley of the Civil War lies somewhere in the West and John Brennan, Jno. B. Lynch and Corp. Edw. O'Donnell lie in Flanders Field.

In St. Joseph's Cemeteries

Johann Bauer, Anton Gier, Martin Goth, Clement Goodear, Sylvester Goodear, Joseph H. Hrzte, Franz Kies, Franz Ludwig, John Price, Franz Pfeffer,—Hairbracht, Joseph Ruse, Chas. Saylor, John Green are among the known patriot dead in St. Joseph's cemeteries. There are several unknown dead of the Civil War conflict buried in both St. Bernard's and St. Joseph's cemeteries and John Bittner, Jeremiah McGrath and James McGinley still survive.

The First Missionaries of Our County

Rev. Theodore Schneider in 1741 became our first missionary. Father Schneider procured his faculties from the Vicar Apostolic of London. He was thirty-eight years old at the time, having been born at Heidelberg, Germany, April 7, 1703, where he had been president of its university and later professor of philosophy and polemics at Liege—"a man," wrote Carroll to Rome, "of much learning and unbounded zeal . . . a person of great dexterity in business, consummate prudence and undaunted magnanimity." Father Schneider records that he began his register of baptisms, marriages and burials in 1741. A school was one of his first concerns, and he erected a combination rectory, chapel and school at Goshenhoppen in February 1743. He repeated this process when he founded the mission at Haycock in May, 1743, there he celebrated Mass in the home of Thomas Garden, and later in that of Nicholas McCarthy. He had some medical knowledge, and traveled in the guise of a physician, especially in New Jersey, where the penal laws were more stringently enforced. He paid spot cash for

the land he bought of Biedler, a Mennonite, who sold to a Catholic priest to spite the Brotherhood, with whom he had broken. Being an alien, the priest could not take personal title, but executed the deed in the name of Father Graeten, his Philadelphia superior. All title to church property in those days had to be personal on account of the penal laws. He established a mission near Allentown, at Magunshi, and celebrated Mass at the home of George Riffel, Northampton county then, now Lehigh county. His zeal and energy are shown by the fact that he laboriously transcribed two missals or Mass books for use on his missions. On July 10, 1764, Father Schneider died suddenly, in his sixty-first year, and the Northeastern Pennsylvania missions, including Northampton county, remained without a resident pastor until May 31, 1765, when Rev. John Baptist de Ritter, a Belgian, arrived in Goshenhoppen. At that time there were nineteen priests in the country; today there are twenty thousand. Like his predecessor's Father Ritter's death occurred suddenly, February 3, 1787, in his seventieth year. He introduced into the county the regulation of celebrating marriage with a Nuptial Mass. An untiring worker, he slept on a pallet of straw and used his saddle for a pillow.¹⁰ He was buried beside Father Schneider at Goshenhoppen.

The First Parish in Northeastern Pennsylvania

Northampton County, then containing six hundred square miles of territory, was made a parish in July 1833, when Bishop Kenrick of the Philadelphia Diocese, appointed Rev. Henry Herzog, just ordained, pastor of St. John the Baptist's Church at Haycock, Bucks county, with jurisdiction over both Bucks and Northampton counties. This was the first regularly erected parish in Northeastern Pa. Monroe and Carbon counties, remained within this jurisdiction till March 3, 1868. When Father Reardon built a per-

¹⁰ Cf. Gilmary Shea.

manent rectory on his appointment as pastor of St. Bernard's, Easton, in 1847, the county had been reduced to its present proportions of three hundred and ninety square miles; but many Missions within the former county limits remained in charge of St. Bernard's, Easton, up to the end of the 19th century.

The First Parish and Pastor

In earlier times there were many Catholics in the regions of Northampton county, now forming Wayne county; in fact, some localities there were so entirely Catholic that the immediate necessity for separate schools was not deemed absolute. Clark's Corners or Canaan's Corners, Damascus, Turacco, and Equinunk, Honesdale, Hawley, Cherry Ridge in Wayne; Allentown, Friedensville, Bethlehem, Catasauqua, in Lehigh; Nesquehoning, and Mauch Chunk in Carbon; Stroudsburg, Pocono, Oakland, Tobyhanna, Coolbaugh, and Gouldsborough in Monroe; Janet's Hollow, and Locawassen in Pike, were Northampton county missions and stations until their incorporation into the new Scranton diocese, March 3, 1868. Even after this date, Easton continued to supply missionaries to both the English and German-speaking Catholics within and without the diocesan limits. For years Easton was the parental source of Northampton county's Catholicity, supplying both priests and nuns and money to struggling infant parishes in the county. Right Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia, was the *first prelate* to visit the county. He came to Easton in 1833, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1844, 1845, 1847, and 1850.^{10a} On the first two visits he stopped in Easton at Michael Cavanaugh's home, where he said Mass, and also conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation. On this occasion Father Francis Guth, of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, preached

^{10a} In those days one came from Philadelphia 20 miles by boat to

a German sermon. The Easton Catholics in 1834 rented a private house on 5th Street, Easton which became the residence of Fathers Maloney and Brady, and on July 2, 1834, Bishop Kenrick celebrated Mass there, and confirmed nine, and gave the Holy Eucharist to fifteen.¹¹ This remained the home of the Easton priests until Father Reardon, in the fall of 1847, built the present rectory, at 132 South Fifth Street, which was enlarged by Fathers Reardon, and McGeveran, and recently improved by the present pastor, Rev. John Edward McCann, who cleared all debt off the parish and expects to have the old historic church consecrated in 1921. Other parishes were soon organized. The German Catholics of Easton and South Easton formed a separate congregation in 1851, and until 1871 their pastor ministered to the German Catholics of the Bethlehems.

Influx of the Nations

The priests of St. Joseph's Church had charge of the Catholics of Lehigh, Wayne, and Monroe counties for years. The Magyars, or German Hungarians, of the town of Northampton, Pennsylvania, were, prior to 1909, under the care of the priests of East Mauch Chunk, but in that year a parish was organized and a school founded by Rev. J. P. Shimco. In 1908, a parish, and a school, having two hundred pupils, was organized at Nazareth, under the care of the Fathers of the Mission of the Sacred Heart, who also twice a month conducted a mission at Bath; where some Irish Catholics settled long before the Revolution. The bulk of the congregation, however, since the beginning of the 20th

Bristol, Pa., thence by train 10 miles to Morrisville, Pa., and 50 miles by stage-coach from Trenton, N. J., to Easton, Pa. The entire trip may now be made by train in a couple of hours. (Cf. *Kenrick Diary*, pg. 127.)

¹¹ Cf. *Kenrick's Diary*, pg. 103.

century, are mainly Austrians. The Polish and Lithuanian people of Easton, West Easton, and Wilson Boro, on January 19, 1920, became part of the new St. Jane's parish. During the last four years, an influx of Syrians has scattered throughout the United States; a number settled in our county. Many Ruthenians, Greeks, and Ukranians, mostly of the nationality of the latter country, are located in the town of Northampton, this county, and number three hundred families; there are, however, a few in the lower end of the county, some in West Easton and Glendon, and a number in the Bethlehems. They are of the Catholic rite, and are united to Rome. "The Windish,"—Jugo Slavs, and Checho Slavs, have a parish church in South Bethlehem and are scattered in individual groups throughout the county. There are about two thousand Balkanites located in that iron town, who with the Poles form one congregation. There are four large congregations of Italians in the county, though there are more of this nationality scattered in considerable groups in almost every town throughout the county. There are probably ten thousand of this nationality within the county limits. They are for the most part Catholic. Proselytizers and commercialism have separated many of them from the church.

Religious Teachers in Schools

In 1752, when the county was organized, and in 1808, when our diocese was organized, there was not one of the religious orders of Catholic Nuns in the county. There are in the county today, at least four of these orders having charge of eight schools, teaching about eight thousand children. Among these orders are the Mission Sisters of St. Francis, South Easton and Catasauqua; Mission Sisters of the Sacred-Heart, of Nazareth; Sisters of the Immaculate

Heart of Mary, Easton, (schools) ^{11a} and Wilson, Roseto, Martin's Creek and Glendon (Sunday Schools); and the Sisters of St. Joseph, Bethlehem. With two schools and a High School in Easton, four in South Bethlehem, one in Nazareth, and one in Northampton, it is but a question of time until every parish will have its own school. The Catholic school system grew out of the education fostered and the text-books used in the public schools from before the Revolution. "Institutions," writes Shea, "endowed and supported by the State were exclusively Protestant in tone, religious exercises, and hostility to everything Catholic, . . . Text books and teacher's utterance were insulting and the loudly proclaimed liberality and religious equality were fallacious."

After the riots of 1844 in Philadelphia, Bishop Kenrick issued the following proclamation to the public, which is the platform on which the parish schools rest: "Catholics have not asked that the Bible be excluded from the public schools. They have merely desired for their children the liberty of using the Catholic Version in case the reading of the Bible be desired by controllers or directors of schools; they only desire to enjoy the benefit of the Constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, which guarantees the rights of conscience and precludes any preference of sectarian modes of worship. They ask that the school laws be carefully executed and that the religious predilection of the parents be respected They desire that the public schools be preserved from all sectarian influence and that education be conducted without any violence being offered to their religious conviction." The school authorities denying this petition of Catholics, it became necessary to provide parish schools and to urge parents not to send their children to the common or public schools, where their faith was in

^{11a} St. Bernard's grade school and the Easton Catholic High School (consolidated).

danger. At the fifth Diocesan Synod, held in 1855 under Bishop Kenrick, the erection of parish schools was made mandatory and their proper management was decreed.

The First Parish School

St. Joseph's Church, South Easton, was the first parish in the county to comply with the Diocesan Canon, followed closely by Catasauqua, the Holy Infancy, Bethlehem, and eventually by St. Bernard's (in September 1909) and the other parishes of the county. However, as early as 1848, Father Reardon conducted a private school in the basement of St. Bernard's Church, and a similar School conducted by four lay teachers flourished at St. John Capistran's, South Bethlehem.

The opening of the twentieth century saw an influx of Catholics from non-English speaking countries. The pioneer Catholics of these regions were Germans and Irish and a few Scotch and English. Many of the earlier settlers lost their faith for want of missionaries, and through worldly engrossment and lack of fortitude amidst neighbors who viewed their religion with suspicion and positive opposition. In more recent times, organized efforts to induce defection have been made; on this account the development of Catholic Education in Northampton county becomes daily more important, to insure real and solid Americanization.

School Foundations

It is worthy of note in connection with the schools that the father of the public school system of Pennsylvania and the father of the Philadelphia Diocese Catholic school system were respectively at one time identified with Easton—Governor Wolf who formerly owned the site which is now St. Bernard's Cemetery and Church on Fifth street, founded the public school system of Pennsylvania; and Rev. John W. Shanahan, later Bishop of Harrisburg, the father of the

Philadelphia Diocesan parish schools, was once assistant to Father Reardon at St. Bernard's, and formulated the school code of the diocese of Philadelphia.

A Retrospect

A study of Northampton county's Catholicity and development discloses some interesting statistics. Whereas in 1752,—when the county extended from Raubsville, Pennsylvania, to Sullivan and Orange counties, New York, and included territory now forming (in addition to the present Northampton county), Wayne, Lehigh, Pike, Monroe, and Carbon counties,—there was neither church, nor school, nor resident priest; and in 1757 but one hundred and fifty-nine Catholics of all nationalities, with probably an equal number of children under twelve years. There are today in Wayne county two visiting and four resident priests; ministering to five parish and eight mission churches, every Sunday celebrating a total of ten Masses. There is besides one parish school with five Catholic nuns and teachers. In Monroe county today there are two resident priests and a visiting one; celebrating on Sundays and Holy days five Masses and attending five missions. In Pike county there are likewise three missions attached to a parish church, in charge of the pastor, celebrating two Masses every Sunday and Holy day. These Wayne, Monroe and Pike county Catholics are under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Bishop of Scranton, since March 3, 1868. In Lehigh county today there are nine churches, fifteen hundred pupils attending Catholic schools, a Catholic hospital, and thirteen priests; including two Greek Catholic churches with pastors who attend missions in Northampton county parishes. There are also three parochial schools in Lehigh County. In Carbon County, also formerly part of Northampton county, there are today thirteen churches, five missions, eighteen priests, six schools and twenty-eight teachers, twenty-five hundred parish school pupils, and

thirty-five Masses, Sundays and Holy days. In Northampton county, as now constituted, there are twenty-one churches, seven missions, thirty-two hundred parish school pupils, eight parish schools, twenty-five priests, celebrating between them forty-eight Masses every Sunday and Holy day, and sixty teaching nuns. There are at least fifty thousand Catholics within the present confines of the county. Where there were one hundred and fifty-nine Catholics all told in 1757, there are today (estimated) in the same territory two hundred and fifty-nine thousand. Where in 1752 there were no parish schools, there are today eighteen with one hundred competent teachers; and over eight thousand pupils. Where in the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no resident pastor in the entire territory of the original county, there are today forty-seven resident pastors, eighteen in the county as it is today; thirty-three missions regularly visited, nuns in charge of the schools and Sunday schools and several high school departments, and one regional high school: The Easton Catholic High (co-educational). Where one hundred years ago Catholics rejoiced to have Mass once a month in their locality, there are offered today, every Sunday and Holy day, in the confines of the original county, at least one hundred and twenty-five Masses; and not less than sixty thousand receive Holy Communion every Sunday within the vast territory once forming the original county. Times have indeed changed!

Early Settlements

As before stated, around Beaver Meadows were probably some of the first original Irish Catholic settlements; around Allentown, the first German ones. The earliest known record of any baptism, within any Northampton County territory, is entered in the Goshenhoppen register, under date of March 25, 1775, when Father de Ritter baptized Margaret Ulmer, 8 years old, whose stepfather was received

into the church, December 26, 1775. Shea records^{11b} that Father de Ritter also converted many others; Lutherans, Calvinists, Pietists and non-religionists. When the mine workers, and later, canal boatmen, railroad operators, engineers and surveyors, invaded the lower section of Northampton county, Easton, the Bethlehems and environs received an influx of the Irish Catholics. Father John Fitzpatrick of Milton, Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, in the course of missionary journeys to Haycock and vicinity, saw the wisdom of procuring a site for a church at the entrance to the valley of the Lehigh, and on November 30, 1829, purchased, of George Wolf, city lots number 191-192 in Easton, a piece of ground about ninety-five feet on "Lehi" street, and three hundred and twenty-five feet on Juliana street, now Fifth street.¹² Father Fitzpatrick paid \$300 for this piece of ground, which was located on "Gallows Hill," later called "Catholic Hill," and was the site where capital punishment was executed on offenders against the commonwealth in earlier times. Northampton county having become a parish, Father Fitzpatrick transferred this site to Bishop Kendrick, in consideration of \$200, March 24, 1834.¹³

First Prelate to Visit the County

Before the church at Easton was built, Catholics of Easton and vicinity rented a house on South Fifth street, and here, July 2, 1834, Bishop Kenrick celebrated Mass, "in an upper room of a certain house which the faithful had hired at a yearly rental of sixty dollars in silver currency, to be used for religious services," administered Communion to

^{11b} "Life of Carroll", p. 163.

¹² Cf. *County Deed Book H*, no. 5, p. 309, May 16, 1833.

¹³ Cf. Kenrick's *Diary and County Deed Book G*, no. 5, p. 743, July 5, 1834.

fifteen people and confirmed nine.¹⁴ On August 17, 1834, Bishop Kenrick and Father Wainright celebrated Mass in the house of Michael Cavanaugh, and gave Confirmation to a small number. Rev. Francis Guth, of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia preached in German on this occasion. Bishop Kenrick dedicated St. Bernard's Catholic Church, August 21, 1836, assisted by Fathers Herzog, Carter and Wainwright, the latter the first pastor of Tamaqua, also of Mount Pleasant, Wayne county, and Pottsville and Summit Hill, Schuylkill county.

Northampton County Made a Mission to Haycock

From July 1833 to March 1837, Father Herzog continued pastor of Northampton county, with his residence at Haycock Bucks county. He was subsequently, (in March, 1837) transferred to Venango county and exercised his pastoral zeal in Warren and Erie counties; but later went to Illinois, Chicago diocese. St. Bernard's at Easton is the only Catholic church mentioned at this time in the official calendar, called the *Metropolitan Magazine*, as then organized in Northampton county, now much reduced through the formation of new counties cut from it.

Noted Site Finder and Church Builder

Father John Fitzpatrick, who purchased the site for St. Bernard's Church, Easton (which is the mother church of the county), deserves more than a passing notice. He purchased the site for the original Pottsville church in 1827, and doubtless while working among the one hundred or more families of two thousand people employed in such public works as coal mines, canal boats, and railroads, foresaw the future needs of the lower section of this county, the gateway to the Lehigh Valley, whither his parishioners were then migrating; with the extensions of canals and railroads

¹⁴ Cf. Kenrick's *Diary*, p. 103.

to Easton and other points of the Lehigh Valley. In 1832 he purchased a site at Selinsgrove, and bought land for a rectory the same year at Milton, where he resided when he transferred the Fifth street lot in Easton.

First Resident Pastor of the County

In March, 1837, Rev. James Maloney, just ordained, became pastor of Bucks and Northampton counties and took up his residence in Easton, at the rented house on Fifth street. From these headquarters, till the summer of 1844, he visited, at monthly intervals, Haycock, Bucks county; Tamaqua, Schuylkill county, Nesquehoning and Beaver Meadows, then in Northampton now in Carbon county. After his transfer in 1844, he made Tamaqua and Beaver Meadows his residence. Father Hugh Brady, his successor, was ordained June 2, 1844, and was immediately appointed to succeed Father Maloney at Easton and the Haycock Missions, Bucks county; Bethlehem, Allentown, Catasauqua, and the surrounding regions, including Phillipsburg and Lambertsville, New Jersey. During his pastorate Bishop Kenrick again visited the county, confirming forty-seven at St. Bernard's, October 22, 1844. In March, 1847, Father Brady was transferred to the Chicago diocese, and died at Milford, Iroquois county, Illinois, January 14, 1849, aged thirty-six years. Until a successor was appointed, Father Maloney, of "Beaver Meadows," again looked after the lower sections of the county. Father Maloney, at this time with his headquarters at Beaver Meadows, had charge also of St. Jerome's, Tamaqua, St. Joseph's, Summit Hill, St. Mary's, Hazelton, and, in the words of Bishop Kenrick's diary, "Burdened with care beyond his strength, begged for at least one priest more to take charge of one of these missions." In 1852 we find him still active at Honesdale, having built a new church at Hawley, Wayne county, the very year he died at Honesdale, April 27, 1852.

Thirty-five Years Pastor

St. Bernard's remained about five months without a pastor following the departure of Father Hugh Brady. During this interval Bishop Kenrick officially visited it, remaining from May 13 to 17, confirming eighteen. On July 25, 1847, Rev. Thomas Reardon was ordained and immediately became pastor of Easton, arriving on his birthday in Aug. 1847 and remaining for thirty-five years. St. Bernard's absorbed his entire priestly career. Father Reardon was born near the Wild Eagle's Nest, Killarney, near the famous lakes, County Kerry, Ireland, about 1813. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, and at an early age took his degree and was graduated some years later. Overstudy brought on brain fever and forced him to discontinue a law course he had undertaken in Middle Temple, London. Travel to France failed to restore his health, and he came to America hoping to benefit by the voyage. En route he met State Senator, later Congressman, and afterwards Chancellor of New York University, John V. Pruyn, and later entered his law office at Albany, New York. On his arrival in America he visited Saratoga Springs for his health. When he had completed his law course in Pruyn's offices, through that attorney's powerful influence, young Reardon, and Papineau, a son of the Canadian Ambassador, were admitted while yet aliens, to the New York bar, by a special act of the State Legislature, when Reardon had been only nine months in America. Eventually he determined to study for the priesthood and came to the Philadelphia Seminary, and after completing the required course was ordained at the age of thirty-four years, July 25, 1847. Father Reardon was first cousin to Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish patriot, studied in his law offices and by a coincidence the site of St. Bernard's had been purchased in 1829, the year O'Connell succeeded in winning his fight for Catholic Emancipation, and Father Reardon became its pastor in 1847, the year O'Connell died.

The Gateway of the Lehigh Valley

Many Irish Catholics flocked into Glendon in 1848, following the Irish rebellion and famine, and Glendon became a thriving section during the existence of the Firmstone, Lucy and other iron furnaces. The Easton parish comprised territory within a radius of forty miles. Many places formerly visited by Father Reardon as missions are now parishes Allentown, Mauch Chunk, Catasauqua, Bethlehem, South Bethlehem, Pa., Phillipsburg, Lambertville, Oxford, N. J. and many others. There are now five parishes in Easton, nine in Allentown, three in Northampton, one in Roseto, and in Bangor, one in Nazareth, three in Catasauqua, nine in the Bethlehems, two in Mauch Chunk, besides missions in Martins Creek, Bath, West Bangor, Easton, Bangor, Wind Gap, Pen Argyl, Berlinsville, and a Sunday school at Middle Village, or Windburytown, besides several parishes and missions in New Jersey, to all of which territory Father Reardon and his predecessors had ministered. "A list of subscriptions towards the liquidation of the indebtedness of the repairs and improvements of St. Bernard's Church and the erection of the pastoral house," issued by Father Reardon in 1852, mentions Easton, South Easton, South Easton Road, Glendon, Uhlersville, Freemansburg, Bushkill, Allentown, Firmstone's Mines, Murtagh's Quarries, Cranesville, Whitehall, New Jersey furnaces, and Clinton, New Jersey, as contributors of the \$3,336 subscribed. The building of the rectory in 1847 and the furnishing of the church were among Father Reardon's first acts, and cost \$6,765.23. He himself subscribed \$1,000. In 1847, Father Reardon added to the church interior the present gallery; and installed a fine melodeon, which was used until 1883. In August, 1862, he further improved the interior of the church, installing stained-glass windows; the one of the Good Shepherd, donated by Father Reardon, still remains

at the northeast side of the church, but the others were replaced or remodeled in 1898. He twice enlarged St. Bernard's Church, which was twice endangered by fire and in the course of improvements was almost totally destroyed by fire on April 9, 1867, through the upsetting of a charcoal furnace by a tinsmith named Stengel. On the first occasion an overturned stove damaged it. Father Reardon immediately rebuilt, and on June 14, 1868, rededicated the church. Rev. John Dunn, of St. John the Evangelist's, Philadelphia, preached at the rededication. The impaired health which interrupted his earlier studies finally occasioned Father Reardon to resign his Easton pastorate, and to seek rest in retirement amidst the "lakes and fens of his native Killarney," where he died in October 1895, at the age of eighty-two years.¹⁵ He left St. Bernard's in the fall of 1882, leaving it a cash balance of \$500 in the bank to the credit of the church and a \$3,000 mortgage in favor of the parish, which was fully satisfied, with accrued interest, in April, 1891, and paid to Father McGeveran by the Thomas Reilly Estate.¹⁶ In Father Reardon's day, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, so frequently given nowadays, was a rare occasion, allowed by him in connection with the Rosary devotions on the first Sunday of the month only.

The Oldest Catholic School Foundation

While equipping the Church, Father Reardon's first thought was to provide a little school; a room under the church was devoted to this purpose in 1852, so that St. Bernard's parish school, humble though it was, is the oldest Catholic school foundation in Northampton county. The Catholic schools getting no State aid are the chief source of worry and anxiety of every pastor, but all these schools in Northampton county are modernly equipped and are efficient

¹⁵ Cf. *Directory obituary*, A. D. 1896.

¹⁶ Cf. *Mortgage Book*, no. 36, p. 215.

in every particular, and the pupils pass at once into lucrative positions after graduation, the business-world standard of efficiency.

"The Gentleman of the Lehigh Valley"

At the death of Father Reardon, in 1895 the following obituary notice appeared in the *Boston Pilot*: "The Irish priesthood has been deprived of a venerable and distinguished member by the death, which occurred on October 4th, of the Very Rev. Thomas Bernard Reardon, of Killarney, first cousin of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator. Father Reardon had attained the age of 93 years. He was the son of W. Stephen Reardon, of Gortroe, near Killarney and was the oldest of twelve children, of whom five were dedicated to the church. His education was begun at the People's College, Killarney, which has long since ceased to exist. He passed to the Dublin University and there took the A. B. degree. He was a distinguished linguist and was able to speak seven languages fluently. He went next to Temple Bar, London, and studied law with his cousin, Danl. O'Connell. After a short time there his health broke down and he came to America. He pursued his legal studies and, though he would not be a recognized citizen until after five years in the country, he was allowed to practice at the bar in nine months' time. After practising for some years he became the personal friend of Father James. Roosevelt Bayley, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore and of Archbishop Hughes, of New York. During the time of the Knownothing epidemic in America he was a great defender of Catholic rights, and upon occasion, owing to a speech he delivered the besiegers refrained from firing a church. From that day be determined to become a priest and was ordained by Bishop Kendrick, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore. Some time after there was a murder in Easton, in the Philadelphia diocese, and, being a

lawyer, Father Reardon was sent to investigate the matter. He found there a miserable little church dedicated to St. Bernard, of which he was made pastor, and the day he arrived being the anniversary of his birth he set about repairing the church, which he never forgot until the day of his death. In fact, from 80 to 100 churches in the diocese have been built in the territory once served by him. On four occasions he was offered a diocese in America, but he always refused, and once he was summoned to Rome to state his reasons, but still declined to take a bishopric. Father Reardon finally returned to Ireland. While in Killarney his charity to the poor was unbounded. For the last four weeks he spent upwards of \$900 in charity. For the last ten years several families depended upon him for their maintenance." The date of birth here assigned does not agree with ours, but we have reason to think we are nearer the truth, as we procured our data from the biography appearing in the History of Northampton County issued while Father Reardon was living in Easton and it was evidently approved by him and he continued a resident here for several years following this publication. After carefully posting all his accounts and records, which are still extant and very accurate and detailed, he left Easton and St. Bernard's in August 1882 but in 1887 wrote Father McGeeveran a long letter explaining the matter of the mortgage on the church cemetery property in South Easton, on the evidence of which Father McGeeveran was enabled to settle the matter and to recover several hundred dollars due the parish.

Rev. John R. Dillon, Fourth Pastor

Rev. John R. Dillon, like his predecessor, associated Albany, New York, with his career. He was born in Albany, N. Y., May 5, 1850. The death of his father, John B. Dillon, a few weeks prior to his own, was the means of hastening Father Dillon's death on Tuesday, the

8th of September 1885 when thirty-five years of age. About the time of his father's death he was convalescing at Cape May, New Jersey. Rev. Peter F. Dagget, recently ordained replaced him temporarily about June of that year. Fr. Dillon, naturally robust and vigorous, but neglecting proper precautions, became the victim of a complication of diseases. He received his early education from the Christian Brothers, at Saint Michael's, Philadelphia. At sixteen he entered Glen Riddle Preparatory Seminary: and five years later Overbrook Seminary, where he was ordained March 15, 1874. After four years of curacy at St. Charles, South Philadelphia, he was assigned in May 1878 to Pottstown, Pa., as "locum tenens," (i. e. acting pastor during the proper pastor's absence). In October 1878 he was assigned to St. Malachy's, Philadelphia, as curate. When thirty-three years of age and nine years ordained, he was appointed, in March 1883, to be Father Reardon's successor. Rev. William K. Egan, who was Father Reardon's assistant when he resigned his parish, exchanged places with the new pastor and became assistant at St. Malachy's, Philadelphia. Singularly, both Father Dillon and Father Egan, passed into eternity the same year, in 1885; the latter January 13, the former September 8. While pastor of St. Bernard's, Father Dillon added many improvements to the church. He installed the first pipe organ ever used in the church which, while a rebuilt instrument, was of sweet tones and gave satisfactory service till replaced in 1918 by the present larger and finer instrument. "He was one of the best singers in the Archdiocese, a magnificent basso highly cultivated, an eminent vocal artist, and never chary of the gift of song."¹⁷ "He was admired by everybody, his spirits as exuberant as his zeal." While in Easton, Father Dillon endeavored, without much success, however, to interest the young men

¹⁷ Cf. *Catholic Standard* of September 19, 1885.

of the parish in choir work, offering them a free musical education. On the occasion of his funeral, Friday, September 11, 1885, six thousand viewed the remains, people of several denominations, including most of the ministers of Easton, attended his obsequies. His remains were borne in public procession through the streets outside the church, to the adjoining cemetery, south of the church, and a beautiful monument was erected to his memory by the congregation of St. Bernard's. The churchyard where his remains rest became an eyesore after it was closed in 1886 and so remained till Rev. John E. McCann graded it and otherwise beautified it at parish expense of several hundred dollars for which the parishioners gratefully subscribed the reimbursement of the parish.

Rev. Hugh McGlinn, Fifth Pastor

Rev. Hugh McGlinn, was appointed to succeed Father Dillon in 1885. He was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, and came to the United States quite young. Later in life, he returned to Ireland, and studied at Carlo College, where Archbishop Ryan was educated. He then entered St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, and was ordained at the Cathedral, by Bishop Wood, June 22, 1865. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed curate at St. Ann's, Philadelphia. In August 1887, he left Easton to become pastor of St. Mark's Bristol, and in November 1888, succeeded Rev. Maurice Walsh, V. G., as pastor of St. Paul's, Philadelphia. Here in 1891 he celebrated the silver jubilee of his ordination, and on the 22nd of August 1894 died. During his short pastorate in Easton, Father McGlinn revived and reorganized church societies and maintained the splendid parish organization of his predecessors.

A Twenty-eight Year Pastorate

On the 16th of August 1887, Father McGeveran became the sixth, resident, pastor of St. Bernard's, Easton. He was

born at Athlone, County West Meath, Ireland, in 1848, but was brought to this country quite young and was raised in Port Clinton, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, where he learned telegraphy. He entered the Glen Riddle (later the 18th and Race Street) Seminary, when twenty-four years of age, and after spending some years (1868-1873), in Rome, was ordained June 7, 1873, and by a coincidence died June 7, 1915. On his return to America, he was assigned to St. Peter's, Reading, from 1875 to 1878; St. Vincent de Paul's, Minersville, 1878 to 1883; St. Paul's, Philadelphia, 1883 to 1885, as curate. In 1885, he was appointed pastor at St. Ambrose, Schuylkill Haven, with his former home of Port Clinton a mission to that parish. He left there August 16, 1887 to become pastor of St. Bernard's, continuing so till his death, in 1915, a period of almost twenty-eight years.

An Adopted Son of County

During his absence from June to September 1906, on a European tour, Rev. John Clement McGoveran, born at Altoona, November 21, 1869, and who came to Easton to live in 1871, administered the parish. Father McGoveran was graduated from the Easton High School in 1888, from Mount St. Mary's Seminary in 1892, and was ordained for the Harrisburg diocese in 1896. After singing his first Mass at old St. Bernard's, and pursuing a post graduate course at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., he was appointed to a professorship in St. Mary's Seminary, Emmitsburg, Md., and only resigned this present year, to labor as curate, in the Harrisburg Diocese.

Rev. James McGeveran, Sixth Pastor

When Father McGeveran returned from his European trip, in the fall of 1906, he received a great ovation from the people of Easton, irrespective of creed; when he observed the silver jubilee of his Easton Pastorate in 1912, a similar re-

markable demonstration of affection and esteem was given by four thousand citizens of Easton at Bushkill Park, and he was presented with a substantial purse. One of his first acts when he became pastor of Easton was to care for the South Side Catholic Cemetery, belonging to St. Bernard's. This he enclosed with a substantial iron fence, and otherwise put in good order. In 1889 he made necessary repairs and improvements to the church but on the occasion of his Sacerdotal Silver Jubilee, he made extensive alterations and enhanced the former beauty of the church by building the present alcove to the Sanctuary, inlaying its floor with mosaic, wainscoting its wall with tile, and installing three costly marble altars, the main one donated by the late James Smith, being a replica of the much admired altar in St. Charles Seminary Chapel, Overbrook. Oak pews, and birdseye-maple floor and new stained-glass windows were added, a new vestibule built and a new Sacristy entrance made at this time. The exterior was recast and the interior beautifully frescoed by Ferdinand Baraldi, a noted artist who painted on canvass the pictures of the Sacred Heart, the Holy Infancy, The Ascension, The Immaculate Conception, and The Apotheosis of St. Bernard's—all within the Sanctuary; ten Medallions, over the windows and one of St. Cecelia over the choir. Imported Stations of the Cross, and Munich stained-glass windows of the Annunciation of Mary Magdalene, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Catherine of Alexandria, The Agony in the Garden, The Ecce Homo, and the Sacred Face. Father Reardon's gift window was not disturbed but the other windows were suitably altered. The opalescent window of St. Michael in the organ gallery, and those over the side entrances, were put in at this time. John M. Stewart was the architect. These improvements cost about fifteen thousand dollars. The present stairway, leading to the organ gallery was designed at the same time. The costly Mexican onyx and hammered brass Communion

rail was also put in and the sacristy enlarged and a complete renewal of vestments and altar service made. Father McGeveran fully liquidated the debt thus incurred and in 1902 still further improved the church by installing a fine reed organ, which was donated by the Blessed Virgin's Sodality and he built an addition to the rectory of the third story and refectory. The parish hall was later fitted up under the church, and in 1910 new electric fixtures were installed. In 1909 the first school building was purchased from J. P. Correll for \$11,000, and ten acres were procured in Palmer Township for \$3,000.00 for a new burial ground. The school was enlarged in 1912 at an expenditure of about \$7,000. Before he could cancel these new debts Father McGeveran broke down and in October 1914 was moved to a sanitarium in Lansdale Pa., after some time in St. Agnes' Hospital, Philadelphia, under Dr. McCarthy, nerve specialist. He never returned to St. Bernard's, till his corpse was carried in the day following his death. He was buried from St. Bernard's amid a great outpouring of citizens of all denominations "because," as the *Catholic Standard and Times* of June 21, 1915 says, "of his kindly disposition, he was popular with Catholics and Protestants of Easton." He was buried in Mt. Olive's Circle, Gethsemane Cemetery, the new burial place in the spot he had himself selected. It was his hope to live till the debts were paid and his hope was gratified as his successor had wiped out most of the debt and the new cemetery had been consecrated April 25, 1915 by Bishop McCort. He willed \$1000 of the \$3000 life insurance he carried which was all he possessed of this world's goods, to the school he had founded. A mammoth granite cross was erected in the plot where his remains lie, the memorial of his grateful parishioners.

The Present Incumbent

Rev. John E. McCann was appointed pastor pro tem, on his birthday November 7, 1914 and confirmed in the appointment permanently, June 12, 1915. He has kept the Catholic Cause very much in the limelight and has secured much recognition and aroused healthy interest in things Catholic. The newspapers now prove very receptive of all information and publicity never heretofore considered necessary is given to Catholic affairs. As a tribute to his patriotism a number of citizens headed by State G. A. R. Commandant, Noah Detrick, represented him with a silk flag and standard during the Knights of Columbus War drive in 1917, which he holds among his most valuable possessions. A full account of his life and labors appeared in the local papers November 8, 1915 on the occasion of a reception given in his honor to mark the first anniversary of his pastorate. He has acquired at a cash consideration of \$8000 the adjoining property to the south of the school and had taken steps to acquire that to the north in the interests of civic betterment and education but fate decreed otherwise! He fathered the great project of Union Council, Knights of Columbus of Easton in establishing a home for themselves and ultimately a Catholic Welfare centre,—a Young Men's Catholic Association, along broad lines kindred to their War Welfare Work which has won the commendation of all Americans. He is also interested in the Boy Scout Movement as conducive to Americanization work and is vice-chairman of Easton City Scout Council and to an otherwise busy life adds active planning for the sake of Young America. It has been remarked that there is more activity at St. Bernard's in recent years than ever before in its long history of four score years. On the occasion of his 20th, anniversary of ordination he was surprised by his congregation with a reception and purse and

has received many tokens of their love and esteem. The Mothers of the 1917 Regulars in appreciation of his services donated a handsome electric cut-glass lamp for the benefit of his parish bazaar this present year and requested memorial services for the souls of the dead Catholic soldiers and sailors of St. Bernard's which they attended in a body.

Saint Bernard's Curates

Many capable assistants contributed to success of Parish. Distinction came to many. St. Bernard's first four pastors, Herzog, Maloney, Brady and Reardon, were newly ordained when they assumed the duties and burdens of the pastorate. Father Dillon was ordained nine years and Father McCann fifteen when the mantle fell upon them and Father McGlinn had been twenty years on the mission. None of these had ever been pastors previously. Father McGeveran was the only one of St. Bernard's pastors who had previous pastoral experience. He had been already two years pastor of St. Ambrose, Schuylkill Haven. The first three pastors never had assistants. They were young and vigorous and priests were scarce in those days and for this double reason curates were not assigned them. In consequence all died in their thirties. The first curate ever assigned to St. Bernard's and consequently to Northampton County came to Father Reardon in the person of Rev. Philip Gough, ordained by Bishop Neumann, June 11, 1852. He arrived in Easton in the spring of 1854 and remained till September. Then came Rev. Dennis O'Haran, just ordained, by Bishop Bailey, October 30, 1854. It was his first appointment and he remained till August 1856. He was in temporary charge of St. Paul's Philadelphia, in 1861 when that church was destroyed by fire November 26, 1861, during the time the Rev. Patrick F. Sheridan, the pastor was in Europe. He undertook the rebuilding and had things well under way when the pastor returned. In 1874 we find him pastor of

St. Patrick's, Norristown and when the diocese was divided and Scranton made a separate See he cast his lot with the new diocese and died at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., in 1891. While Father O'Haran was in St. Bernard's Father Reardon went to Cuba for his health about 1856 and Rev. Dr. Joseph I. Balfe, D. D., was "locum tenens." Doctor Balfe was ordained in Rome, June 9, 1839 and was for some time one of the most brilliant professors of St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook. He took care of St. Bernard's interests in the John McCauley bankruptcy case in which \$900. of St. Bernard's funds were involved. McCauley had been made treasurer of the parish cemetery funds and when he became bankrupt he involved this account. Father Balfe recovered \$400 of the money by legal settlement and the parish actually lost \$503.34. After that the Bishop ordered in June 1855 the local pastor personally to manage these finances, which was done till 1867 when Father Reardon was preparing to make a visit to Ireland, and Thomas Reilly of West Madison Street, South Easton, took charge and after his death in 1874, his widow, Hannah, did so. By request of Father Reardon they likewise assumed the agency for the sale of building lots into which two acres of the South Side Cemetery was converted. Father Reardon explained this transaction to Father McGeveran in a long letter which is in the parish archives. The Reillys subsequently turned over the sales money with interest \$3114.20 to Father McGeveran.

New Parishes Developed

Shortly after Father Reardon's return from Cuba, Rev. Lawrence A. Brennan, just ordained, (August 10, 1856) became curate and remained till appointed first resident pastor of St. Lawrence's, Catasaqua in 1858. Just before his arrival in Easton, land had been purchased in Catasaqua of Paul and Amelia Faust, on July 19,

1856.¹⁸ It comprised a half acre and cost \$450 and was then in Allen Township. It was purchased "in behalf of the first Catholic church, and burial ground in Allen Township" (now North Catasauqua). On December 21, 1863, Bishop Neumann purchased from the same parties 42 feet additional for \$110. "for a Roman Catholic Graveyard"¹⁹

St. Lawrence's

Father Brennan went regularly each Sunday from St. Bernard's to this mission and in 1858 located there as pastor. Father Reardon now remained alone till Rev. Peter F. Sullivan was ordained, February 27, 1863 but he stayed only one month in Easton. He died May 9, 1896 as pastor of St. Edward's church, Philadelphia, where Rev. Thomas McCarthy, formerly of South Bethlehem is now permanent rector and where Father Charles Vandegrift who succeeded Father McGlinn as pastor of Bristol and who donated one of the Stations of the Cross in St. Bernard's to Father McGevers also died as pastor. In March 1863 Father Sullivan received into the church, at St. Bernard's Senator Broadhead, father of the late Judge J. Davis Broadhead. No curate came then till Rev. Philip McEnroe (who later died pastor of South Bethlehem) was ordained January 20, 1867, the year St. Bernard's was destroyed by fire. It was Father Reardon's design to visit Ireland again and the young priest was to have taken charge but the fire changed all such plans and Father McEnroe departed in June. In 1869 Father Reardon, having previously rededicated the restored church, found it possible to revisit the cherished scenes of his childhood, and Rev. Daniel Brennan, born at Carbondale, Pa., March 14, 1845, the son of a State Representative, and ordained the previous year, May 21, 1868, came from the Cathedral, and remained in Easton till November 1870. He returned to

¹⁸ Recorded in *Deed Book E*, vol. ix, p. 135, January 12, 1857.

¹⁹ *Book B*, vol. xi, p. 15; *Book F*, vol. x, p. 280.

the Cathedral and was assistant there for seventeen years. He became Chancellor of the diocese under both Archbishops Wood and Ryan 1877-1885 and later pastor of the Assumption where he died July 12, 1898. He built a \$60,000 church and frescoed it and paid the debt. Rev. Francis P. O'Neill, who was ordained January 28, 1866, an assistant at St. Bernard's August to October 1870, died suddenly August 8, 1882, by a singular coincidence at Saratoga, where Father Reardon first settled in America and the very year he resigned and returned to Ireland. Father O'Neill was at the time pastor of the newly organized St. James' parish, Philadelphia. He was born in Honesdale, Pa.

First Sodality and Conference

Rev. John Ash, ordained the same day as Father McGeeran, June 7, 1873, became that same year curate to Father Reardon and remained till January 1876. He died November 6, 1877, of consumption, at St. Francis Xavier's, Philadelphia when only 26 years old. He organized the Blessed Virgin Sodality at St. Bernard's February 2, 1874 and the St. Vincent de Paul Conference April 3, 1875 and by associating some of the ladies in this work laid the foundation of the Society of the Daughters of St. Elizabeth. Rev. Gerald Coughlin, now a domestic prelate with title of Monsignor, was ordained October 18, 1872. He was born in County Mayo, Ireland, and studied at Overbrook Seminary. He came to Father Reardon in 1877 and remained for thirteen months. In September 1878 he was made pastor of Pottstown, and four years later of St. Peter's, Reading, where he remodeled and enlarged the rectory and refurnished it at an expenditure of \$5000. Seven years later he was transferred to organize a new parish in Philadelphia at Broad St. and Susquehenna Ave., and has since had the church consecrated after clearing

church, school, rectory and convent of debt. He was appointed to our Lady of Mercy, October 14, 1879. Rev. Thomas Toner was an assistant at St. Bernard's from February 1876 to April 1877.

Native Sons

Immediately preceding Father Coughlin, Rev. James J. Timmins, who was born in Easton, and ordained July 6, 1871, was with Father Reardon from May to September 1877. He and his brother Joseph, who succeeded James as pastor of St. Michael's, Chester, were altar boys in Easton under Father Reardon who baptised Joseph. Joseph was ordained June 22, 1896 and spent his entire career as his brother James' assistant and then as his successor in Chester, where he died in 1918 of pneumonia. James became pastor of St. Monica's, South Philadelphia, a parish organized by Rev. Owen McManus, an assistant of Father Reardon from July 1879 to May 1880. After Rev. Joseph Timmins' death, Father James returned to Chester, and is still its pastor. Rev. Thomas Shannon, ordained October 18, 1872, was curate under Father Reardon from April to May, 1880. He became later assistant at St. Ann's, pastor at Norristown, and died a few years ago as pastor of St. Francis Xavier, Philadelphia.

Father of Parish School System

From November 1878 to June 1879, Rev. John W. Shanahan, who later became the first diocesan superintendent of parish schools, and later Bishop of Harrisburg, was another of Father Reardon's notable assistants. On April 7, 1881 he was made pastor of Our Mother of Sorrows, and continued so till his transfer to Harrisburg May 1, 1889, where he died February 19, 1916. He was ordained January 2, 1869, by his brother Rt. Rev. Jeremiah F. Shanahan, first Bishop of Harrisburg. Rev. Owen Mc-

Manus, ordained June 18, 1879, instructed the writer to be an altar boy at St. Ann's, Port Richmond, Philadelphia whither he came from St. Bernard's, Easton, where he had succeeded Father Shanahan. After him came Rev. Joseph H. O'Neil first pastor of St. Francis, Philadelphia, and a brother of Rev. Francis O'Neil a former curate of Father Reardon. He was ordained February 26, 1877, and died October 3, 1902, at St. Francis de Sales. Father Reardon's last assistant and who assumed temporary charge of St. Bernard's after the retirement of Father Reardon in August, 1882 was Rev. Wm. Egan, a brother of Rev. David Egan. He was ordained June 24, 1880. Strangely enough, all his confreres ordained that same day, became associated with Northampton County as pastors, with the exception of himself and Rev. Hugh P. McGoveran who was an assistant at South Bethlehem; the others were Rev. Peter Quinn pastor of Catasaqua, Aloysius Fretz, German pastor at South Bethlehem and Rev. Bernard I. Conway pastor of St. Lawrence's Catasaqua.

A Transforming Epoch

With the retiring of Father Reardon to his Killarney Hills, in 1882, passed into history another prominent factor in the development of Northampton County's Catholicity in general and of Easton, its seat of government, in particular. The foundations of Catholicity had been securely laid by the foreign-born clerics on sturdy German, Dutch and Irish traditions. Well did they labor and wisely foster the discovered vocations that would make their work endure; a well educated, well trained native clergy assumed the burdens as they reluctantly laid them down. So far as we are aware, the present incumbent of the mother parish at the gateway of the Lehigh Valley,—Easton, in the first American-born pastor of Saint Bernard's, the only church of the title of the Archdiocese! So far as we can

determine, the first vocation to the priesthood within the precincts of the original Northampton County was the Rev. James M. McCormick of Beaver Meadows, who died at Phoenixville, Pa., and over whom the writer got the local Sodality to erect a granite cross in St. Mary's cemetery there.

Advent of the New Americans.

Father Reardon saw most of the English-speaking parishes under way throughout the county ere he returned to the Emerald Isle to chant his Nunc Dimittis. But the old order was changing and Mt. Libanus, Italy, Central Europe and the Balkan States were preparing to transplant their thousands into the slave and cement regions of the county; on its farms and in its buzzing industries. They spoke a strange tongue and new problems confronted the Catholics of the county. Priests came who spoke their language and soon church spires and school towers announced that the church was solving another problem and helping in the work of making new Americans.

Father McGeveran, a Roman student, was well qualified to become the patron and the patriarch of the original Italian settlers around Easton, Roseto and the Bethlehems, ably assisted by zealous curates. Successively all these curates have donned the pastor's cape and fallen heir to pastors' worries. Father McGeveran's coadjutors were Rev. Robt. Thompson, Robt. Hayes, David Munyon, Elmer Stapleton, Micha Bennett and David Leahy. When Father McCann took charge in the fall of 1914 the jurisdiction of the old mother parish had been restricted to Easton, South Easton, College Hill, Glendon Heights, West Easton, Wilson Township and parts of Palmer, Forks and Williams Townships. When the new St. Jane Frances parish was organized in the western section of the city the parish was still further limited and the number of assistants at St.

Bernard's reduced to one. Associated with Father McCann during his pastorate at the mother church of the County were Revs. Eugene Travers, Cornelius Burke, Nicholas Travo, Chas. Carmen, Thos. Colohan, James Hughes, Chas. Collum, Joseph Diamond and Edward O'Shea. Rev. Paul Sion and Rev. Anthony Yazbek and the Ruthenian priests stop at the rectory when they come to attend Syrians and Greeks.

For years the history of Catholicity in Northampton County coincided with the history of Easton, the county seat, and is largely the history of old St. Bernard's, at the gateway of the Lehigh Valley. But shortly after the coming of Father Reardon, who was widely known as "the gentleman of the Valley," because of his learning, polish and charities, new parishes began to multiply and the history of the county would be defective without a sketch of Catholic congregations of Easton, The Bethlehems, Northampton, Roseto, The Bangors, The Slate regions, North Catasaqua, Berlinsville, Martins Creek Bath, and Nazareth, all of which have contributed to make Catholicity in Northampton County both a fact and a factor.

**REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, TUESDAY,
21 DECEMBER, 1920**

In the year that has elapsed since the last annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society much has occurred to prove that the work of this organization is of the utmost importance to the Church, its children, and the cause of historical truth.

It is true that the Society has not engaged in many activities of a spectacular public character, but it has accomplished a great deal in a quiet way in what we may designate as "home work." This work has been performed with diligence by Miss A. M. McGowan, and Miss E. M. Graham, working under the direction of the various standing committees.

Those who could find time to visit the Society's home on Spruce Street would find there a collection of Catholic Americana of surprising richness and variety. It is doubtful whether in all America there is any collection equal to it in its books, pamphlets, and objects of real historical significance.

For thirty-six years the Society has been searching not America alone but the whole world for material that bears in any manner upon the history of the country, with the result that the many rooms in the home are crowded with priceless volumes and relics that are a veritable index to the activities of the Church in America, of the pioneer Catholics who opened up this hemisphere to civilization and

of their successors, their equals in courage and faith, who have since been laboring for Church and humanity in this new world.

If the magnitude of the work done by this Society could be impressed even in a small degree upon the Catholics of Philadelphia, there is no doubt that the home at 715 Spruce Street would become an object of pride to every son and daughter of the Church.

One of the most important gatherings in the Society's home in all its history was that of May 5, 1920, when the Laetare Medal was conferred formally upon Dr. Lawrence F. Flick, a former president and a member of the Board of Directors of the Society. The meeting was a tribute to a distinguished physician, historian, scholar and Catholic layman, whose achievements are known the world over and whose services to humanity have won him the highest encomiums. The several splendid addresses which marked that meeting have been published in the *Records* of the Society and should inspire every Catholic to new zeal for Church and Science.

The Society is pleased to record another honor that was bestowed upon Dr. Flick,—his election as the first President of the American Catholic Historical Association which was organized early in the years at Cleveland, Ohio, with a Charter Membership of seventy-five. The purpose of the Association is to deal with general history throughout the world, religious and secular, from a Catholic standpoint.

Another effort is making to undertake the work of indexing the *Records*, for which a special fund of \$500 will be required. The first thirty-one volumes of *Records*, properly indexed, would assuredly open a vast storehouse of Catholic data to the student of America and her history. Members of the Society, and others, should feel it a privilege to assist in this greatly needed work.

Owing to his new duties at the Seminary, the Rev.

Thomas Bowman resigned as Editor of *Records* in February, and the Rev, Joseph M. O'Hara, Assistant Superintendent of Parish Schools, was appointed to the place.

In February the Society lost one of its most zealous members, in the death of Mr. Ignatius J. Dohan, who had been our treasurer many years, and who never neglected an opportunity to advance the interests of the Society. By his faithful attendance at the meetings of the Board of Directors he further attested the sincerity of his devotion to the organization. Mr. Thomas H. Cullinan was appointed successor to Mr. Dohan as Treasurer.

The Society has made good progress in a work entered upon this year, the collection and preservation of Catholic school books. The older books of this kind are rare and some editious have been procured only with difficulty. While this work is but in its infancy the numbers and variety of the volumes already assembled indicate that the task is well worth performing. Probably many members of the Society would be glad to part with one or more of the ancient text books in their families for so good a purpose.

The Membership Committee was rewarded for zealous efforts by the acquisition of several new members, many of whom are Clergymen of the Philadelphia Archdiocese. The Society has had among its warmest friends the Archbishops of this Diocese, and it is gratifying to know that the present Archbishop has not only given his endorsement to the Society, but has had his name placed on its rolls as a member.

P. A. KINSLEY, *Secretary*.

NEW MEMBERS.

The Most Rev. Dennis J. Dougherty, D.D.	Mr. Joseph A. Davin
The Rev. H. J. Bowen	Mr. Louis P. Des Garennes
The Rev. A. G. Brown, S.J.	Mr. J. A. Dougherty
The Rev. Vincent J. Campbell	Mr. John J. Dougherty
The Rev. P. A. Collis	Mr. Hugh B. Dunlap
The Rev. M. J. Corcoran, O.S.A.,	Miss Bertha Duffy
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Miss Margaret Daly	Mr. Henry F. Stitzell
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LIFE MEMBERS.

The Rev. Thomas C. Brennan	Mrs. Pembroke D. Harton
The Brownson Council, Knights of Columbus	Dr. Daniel J. McCarthy
	Mr. James J. Sullivan

DEATHS.

The Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J.	The Right Rev. John J. Hennessy, D.D.
Mr. Ignatius J. Dohan	Mrs. M. A. McManus
Mr. John A. Dougherty	Mr. Jacob Michel, Jr.
Mr. John J. Ferreck	Mrs. H. B. Newman
Mr. James Gaffney	Dr. X. O. Wender
The Rev. Walter P. Gough	
Mrs. P. T. Hallahan	

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR
ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1920.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS:

Dues from active members	\$1955.00	
Dues from life members	250.00	
Dues from contributing members	16.00	\$2221.00
<hr/>		
Subscriptions to RECORDS	\$496.13	
Advertisements in RECORDS	591.43	
Sale of RECORDS	32.60	1120.16
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Subscriptions to Binding Fund	240.00	
" " Index Fund	260.00	
" " Reception Fund	290.00	
" " Endowment Fund	10.00	
Memorial Care Fund, De la Roche Estate	49.06	
Extra telephone calls	1.20	
Tickets for Concert	2.00	
Donations	80.00	
Interest on bonds, Life Membership Fund	45.00	
" " " Endowment Fund	190.00	
Interest on deposit, General Fund	24.00	
" " " Life Membership Fund	7.18	
" " " Endowment Fund	8.39	
" " " Memorial Care Fund	17.40	\$4565.49
<hr/>		
Balance Dec. 1, 1919, General Fund		272.13
		<hr/>
		\$4837.62

EXPENSES:

Account of Committee on Hall:

Interest on Mortgage	\$201.25	
Water Rent	12.00	
Gas	7.80	
Electricity	12.19	
Coal	44.50	
Repairs	39.95	
Wiring house for Electricity.	281.26	
Mazda Lamps	15.86	
Cleaning, Heater Service,		
Supplies	309.24	\$924.05
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Account of Committee on Library:

Books and magazines	\$155.66	
Catalogue cards	4.50	
Subscriptions	14.00	
Binding	17.50	191.66
		<hr/>

Account of Committee on Publication:

Printing Records (3 nos.) ..	\$865.07	
Wrappers	10.33	
Postage on Records	13.94	
Commission on advertise- ments	35.00	925.34
		<hr/>

Account of Secretary:

Postage, printing, stationery .	\$209.17	
Telephone service	47.29	
Ice	7.50	
Salaries of Clerks	1500.00	
Salary of Editor	100.00	
Expenses of Reception	111.12	
Dues in Federation of His- torical Society	2.00	
Woodcut of Father Jogues..	5.00	1982.08
		<hr/>
		4023.13

Transfer to Life Membership Fund	250.00	
" " Endowment Fund	10.00	
" " Memorial Care Fund	17.40	4300.53
		<hr/>
Balance Dec. 1, 1920, General Fund		\$537.09

ENDOWMENT FUND:

Invested in Bonds	\$3900.00	
On deposit in Beneficial Saving Fund	205.50	\$4105.50
		<hr/>

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

Invested in Bonds	\$1000.00	
On deposit, Beneficial Saving Fund	850.00	\$1850.00
		<hr/>

MEMORIAL CARE FUND	\$479.45
BINDING FUND	\$272.45
INDEX FUND	\$260.00

VOL. XXXII

JUNE, 1921

NO. 2



Records
of the
**American Catholic
Historical Society**
of
Philadelphia

WITH WHICH IS COMBINED

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

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CHARLES A. McMAHON
JOHN T. DOONAN
WALTER GEORGE SMITH
IGNACE J. HARTMANN
GEORGE W. NOBLE

JAMES M. KELLEY
JOSEPH M. ENNEL
EDWARD J. DOONER
JOSEPH C. TRAUBER
HON. JOS. F. LANDRILLE
JOHN E. LOWENMAN
THOMAS DEVLIN

WILLIAM V. McGRATH, JR.
HENRY F. McNEEL
WILLIAM J. DOYLE
DAVID J. SEYB
LOUIS E. PEQUIGNOT
MERTHA P. QUINN
JOS. F. CALABRESE

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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No. 2

LETTERS OF FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK TO THE FAMILY OF GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN

1849 to 1863

LXXVII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 3, 1857

Dear Mrs. Allen

I was greatly gratified by the receipt of your gratulations on my birthday.¹ My sixtieth year is now completed. How soon my career may close is matter of serious consideration. Pray that God may prepare me for the awful account. Good Archbishop Carroll asked to be placed on the ground at his death, and to be left to expire on ashes, whilst he repeated the prayer of the Mass: "*Pro innumerabilibus peccatis et offensionibus et negligentis meis.*"²

I will not fail to offer the Holy Sacrifice to-morrow for Dr. Lajus. I always remember with gratitude the attention

¹ Francis Patrick Kenrick was born in Dublin, December 3, 1796.

² Prayer in the *Proprium* of the Mass at the offering of the bread on the paten.

of his good mother when I first went to Philadelphia. His own piety in College was quite remarkable.

I am glad you have heard from Miss Starr.³ She wrote to me a few weeks ago, stating that she enclosed some lines, which did not, however, come to hand. I did not reply, as I thought she would discover the mistake and send them. I send you a few lines for her.

Please remember me to Miss Gray. I am always happy to hear from her.

Bishop Neumann takes charge of my letter to you.⁴

Affectionate remembrance to Professor Allen and the children.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY ALLEN

LXXVIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEB. 9, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have complied with your request, and am delighted to think that the Doctor⁵ has reentered on the practice of his religious duties. I wish him great happiness in his new state of life. Please give my respects to Mrs. John Tiers. I feel a great interest in all that concerns the Lajus family, since Mrs. Lajus was especially kind to me when I first settled in Philadelphia. The Tiers family also interests me greatly.

³ Eliza Allen Starr, convert in 1854.

⁴ Probably carried from Baltimore to Philadelphia by Bishop Neumann.

⁵ See reference in Letter LXXVII to Doctor Lajus.

I am happy that Miss Gray shows favorable dispositions. Remember me to her very respectfully.

Miss Johnson of Germantown made her religious profession last Thursday with manifest joy of heart. Mrs. Lieutenant Wyman, a niece of our minister at St. James, was confirmed last Sunday, with several other converts, old and young men, as well as Ladies, at St. Peter's in this city. Mrs. W(yman) was instructed by the Rev. F. A. Baker,* and received (into the Church) by the Rev^d. E. McCoregan, a good priest, who makes many converts.

A minister from another State has recently called on me. He is fully convinced of the infallibility of the Church, but he does not know to what he can turn to support his wife and children. I recommended him to your good prayers.

The Honorable William Law,[†] a brother of Lord Ellenborough, visited me a few weeks ago. He gave up his Living in the English Church, and came over with his wife and thirteen children. One of his sons, who held a commission in the English Navy, is now a Jesuit, another is an Oratorian, a daughter is a Visitation Nun. He has come to look after the estate of Lady Stafford.[‡]

My affectionate remembrance to Professor Allen and the children.

Believe me ever your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY ALLEN

PHILA'D

* For Francis A. Baker see note under Letter XXXIII.

† William Towrey Law, fifth son of Edward Law, first Baron of Ellenborough and Lord Chief Justice of England—Convert 1851.

‡ Probably Lady Safford, Duchess of Leeds, formerly Miss Caton, daughter of Richard Caton and Mary Carroll, grand-daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

LXXIX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MARCH 30, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I write to inform you that Mr. Major^{*} has returned to the Church with deep sentiments of compunction. He was reconciled by Father Aiken, S. J., himself a convert, from Tennessee, on the feast of the Mother of Dolors, and admitted to Communion in Trinity Church, Georgetown, on Palm Sunday. He has written to me a long letter full of sentiments of grief for his unhappy fall. He prefers that his return be not noticed in the Catholic papers, although he does not make of it a secret. Mrs. Major remained steadfast throughout this most severe trial. I give you the joyful tidings, which you will communicate at discretion. Professor Allen will be delighted.

I hope Dr. Moriarty sent you the pamphlets of the Hon'bl. W. Law, the brother of Ellenborough.

My love to the Professor and all your good children.

With great respect I remain your friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. M. ALLEN

LXXX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MAY 13, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have attended to all your requests. I hope that Miss Julia will be directed in what interests her. George, I pre-

^{*} For Mr. Major see note under Letter LXXII.—See also *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, page 408, note.

sume, improves in health in the North, and sends you satisfactory accounts of himself.

We have had a most happy meeting of bishops ¹⁰ in great harmony. Your good bishop (Neumann) laid the foundation stone of a church in Annapolis, after the Council, and returning, passed through this city without stopping. He edified us all by his zeal and prudence in the Council chamber.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your good children, and believe me ever your friend and father in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY ALLEN

LXXXI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JUNE 17, 1858

Dear friend

I partook of your feelings in receiving your account of the conversion of Mr. Williamson. You will doubtless share my satisfaction on learning of the accession of Mr. Stroutenberg of Alexandria, who traces his change to Dr. Hopkins' ¹¹ last work. The virulence with which Dr. H. assails the Church, coupled with the testimonies which he cited from the Liturgies and the Fathers in favor of the Blessed Virgin and other objects of our veneration produced on the mind of that gentleman an impression which has resulted in his conversion. He had been an exemplary Episcopalian, and, during a long life had enjoyed the re-

¹⁰ Council of Baltimore 1858. — See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, pp. 413-414.

¹¹ *Hopkins*—Evidently John Henry Hopkins, Episcopalian bishop of Vermont.—See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, pp. 162-168-169-183-386.

spect of his brethren as an earnest and devout man. No one impugns his motives. He is an American, probably of German ancestors.

A goodly number of converts was confirmed during my visitation. Mr. Hoffman, an able lawyer of Frederick, met me at Pomfret, and edified me by his attachment to the faith, which he embraced above a year ago.

I have just received a long letter from Miss Starr, with some lines on the Eucharistic Mystery to appear in the C(atholic) Mirror. My absence from home caused delay in noticing the favors of my correspondents.

I am happy to find that Mrs. Allen is growing young, and I hope that your growing old is purely imagination. I trust that George will succeed at the bar, and that Heman will continue to find his favorite pursuits as profitable as they are delightful. Elizabeth and Julia aspire, I presume, to high perfection. Give my love to all.

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

P. S. Rev^d. I. T. Hecker has surprised me by a magnificent present, no other than the recent edition of the Bible prepared by Cardinal Mai from the very ancient Vatican manuscript. It is in five volumes, large quarto, nearly 500 pages each. The Greek type is excellent.

GEORGE ALLEN, ESQ^{RE}

PROF. UNIV. PA.

LXXXII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, AUG. 11, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have offered up this morning the Holy Sacrifice for

Heman, and begged God to direct his course through life, that he may be a faithful and virtuous man and secure the great end of our being. I shall not forget the 28th. Last evening I received a letter from Miss Starr, with some lines for the Mirror. She gives me an interesting account of a visit which she had from her sister and her husband. She is now at Laona.

I have just returned from a ten days' visitation, during which I consecrated the church of the Redemptorists at Cumberland where they have their studies. Above fifty students of their order are there, most of them Germans, although very many have been brought up from youth in this country. Eight or more priests and several lay Brothers belong to this community, which is very fervent. We celebrated the feast of St. Alphonsus with great solemnity.

In Alleghany County there is a considerable number of American Catholics, of the old Maryland stock, and of converts. The Bownings belong to the latter class. Of one hundred and two confirmed in the church of the Redemptorists eleven were converts. The number of Germans and Irish employed on the Rail Road and in the mines is very great. Seven or eight churches, most of them having large congregations, are in this county. Nearly five hundred were confirmed in a week.

The son of Mr. Law, the ex-chancellor of Bath and Wells (in England?), arrived here a few weeks ago. He is a Subdeacon of the London Oratory, and travels for health. His father is not quite well, the mountain air and the labors of his charge not suiting his constitution. He is full of faith and fervor.

Give my love to Professor Allen and all your good children, and believe me ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

LXXXIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ALL SAINTS, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I am always happy to hear from you. It is well to be thankful to God for the grace of perseverance, which is truly his great and special gift: but we must not be over-anxious or apprehensive that anything will occur to separate us from Him, since He is mindful of us. "In Thee, O Lord, do I Hope: Let me never be confounded" (Ps., XXX-2).

I received a sweet letter from Miss Starr full of pious sentiments, and enclosing lines on the Mother of Sorrows, which I expect will appear in the next number of the C. (atholic) Mirror. She has been severely tried and the disappointments of her parents add to her anxiety, but her courage never fails.

I have confirmed six converts this morning. One is the grandson of Commodore Jones. His mother is in a hopeless state of consumption, but not likely to become a Catholic. They are, as you are aware, related to Mr. and Mrs. Major. These continue fervent.

I shall not forget George at the Holy Altar on his patron's festival; nor Mary, the sweet child. I pray for you all that you may continue always fervent and happy. Affectionately remember me to Professor Allen and to all your good children.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

LXXXIV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. FRANCIS X., 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

Your annual¹² tribute is always welcome. I am thankful for the good news you give me of Mr. Baker, Marvin Smalley and Dr. Lajus. There is great happiness for ourselves and others in doing good.

Mrs. Major particularly inquired for yourself and family when I saw her at Georgetown above two weeks ago. Mr. Major continues fervent and humble. He has met with great humiliations from some relatives, which he has born most patiently.

Our list of converts has not recently got any considerable accession. There are three youths from a Western P(rotestant) Seminary in Wisconsin at St. Charles' with one hundred other C(atholic) students preparing for the ministry.

A minister named Maturin from N.(ova?) Scotia, has been received in London. I suspect that this is the son of Charles Maturin,¹³ the author of *Bertram*, whom I knew when a boy. Mr. Denny from Pittsburg has taken orders in the London Oratory. Mr. Law, Subdeacon, has returned there (to London), leaving his father in the Alleghany mountains exploring the lands for ore and coal in the interest of Lady Stafford. He is a most devoted man.

Remember me affectionately to Prof. Allen and the children, and believe me

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

A. B.

PHILA.

¹² Referring evidently to birthday, December 3.

¹³ Charles Robert Maturin was born in Dublin, in 1782, died in 1824.

LXXXV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 29, 1858

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have been greatly edified by the novena to St. Antony of Padua, and particularly touched by the statement of Mary's tender devotion to the Saint. God truly draws praise from the mouth of infants, or of those whose tender age is marked by infantile innocence. It is quite remarkable that your good child should have conceived such devotion, and clung to it so steadily. It doubtless originated in her tender love for Our Lord, and it shows how admirably the love of his saints is connected with his own glory.

I have lately heard from Miss Starr, who has been very sick. Her trials seem to have no end; but Our Lord gives her patience and perseverance.

I will tell you a secret. Mr. Major¹⁴ is about to publish a Review of the Book of Common Prayer, under the name of Augustin. He does it in a spirit of thankfulness and penance. I think its tone will be controversial, or offensive. He withholds his name for obvious reasons.

It will edify you to know that Mrs. C. McTavish, daughter of General Scott, made me her Almoner some days ago, putting into my hands six hundred dollars for special objects, in part, and some at discretion. I sent one hundred dollars to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. She (Mrs. McTavish) is a very fervent Catholic, and does all with great simplicity and devotion.

¹⁴ Major's work was published in 1859 by Kelly, Hedian and Piet, Baltimore—"Letters to an Episcopalian on the Origin, History and Doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer"—See Kenrick-Frenaye Letters, p. 417.

Mr. Thomas Meredith, a Virginia convert, who died five years ago left above \$50,000 for various charitable objects. His widow employs her portion of the estate in good works. It is refreshing to record such examples. Above \$2000 were put into my hands today for the Christian Brothers, who had already received \$5000 from the estate.

I wish you, with your good husband and children, a happy New Year, with great blessings and consolations, and many returns, and I remain always

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

P. S. J. Pennington, a lawyer of this city presented me a few days ago with selections from the works of St. Bernard published in 1471, but in excellent preservation and newly bound. As he is a Protestant, his messenger thought that the book was for Dr. Wittingham, and left it at his house. The address inside written in Latin, having my name and title caused the mistake to be rectified, the book being sent to me by a special messenger with a written explanation in the handwriting of Dr. W., but written without any name or address.

LXXXVI

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JAN. 2, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

The Italian "Lives of the Saints" have long since passed to the care of the Visitation Nuns at Mount de Sales, where Sister Julia teaches that language. I made the Community a present of them with other books to aid in her studies. It

would give me great pleasure to present them to you, or your good daughters, if I were master of them.

You need not send me any more copies of the Novena, as you will find use for them all; whilst you know my reserve in encouraging particular devotions. I am far from undervaluing them; but I have for the most part confined myself to things essential, fearing to overburden myself or others. Your zeal for the altar, chalice, etc., is truly edifying.

I have just received a letter from Miss Starr. She has been sick again: yet she sends some lines for the Mirror.

My love to Professor Allen and the children.

Ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

LXXXVII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEB. 15, 1859

Dear friend

I am much pleased to learn that you are engaged in preparing a Life of St. Antony. Murphy has not called on me, but he knows you well by reputation. He has just dissolved partnership, and has intimated to me that he does not mean to engage in any new enterprise until he has fully arranged the business of the late firm. I had proposed to him to publish a volume to contain all the Prophets, with notes, on the plan of the Psalms, which he declined doing at his own risk, but was willing to publish on my paying the expenses. He declined publishing a work prepared by Mr. Major on the sources of the Book of Com-

mon Prayer.¹⁵ This is to appear without the author's name. Kelly, Hedian and Piet have agreed to publish my work on the Prophets, which is to go to press early in March. It will be printed in Philadelphia, Rev^d. Dr. Balfe having kindly undertaken to correct the proof sheets. They promised to publish Mr. Major's book likewise.

Mr. Law leaves us this morning *en route* for England to see one of his sons before his departure for India. Miss Haywood of this city, whose family are "Friends," but some of them Methodists, is to make her profession of faith this morning with Rev^d. E. Sourin, S. J. She is delicate in health, and somewhat apprehensive of the opposition of her relatives. Her brother is a Methodist minister. It is possible that these circumstances may cause further delay. I recommend her to the prayer of yourself with Mrs. Allen and your devout friends.

I presume Murphy has answered you, or will answer you forthwith. He is a close dealer, always on the safe side, but upright and reliable. I will be happy to serve you in any way.

Respects to Mrs. Allen and love to your good children.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

GEO. ALLEN—ESQ.

PROF. UNIV. PENNS'A

P. S.—I remain in Mrs. Allen's debt. In the mean time she will add to my obligations by remembering me to Miss Gray.

¹⁵ See note under Letter LXXXV.

LXXXVIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MARCH 8, 1859

Dear friend

I have celebrated Mass according to your intention, and sent your letter with enclosures to Rev^d. E. Sourin, who probably may have already returned them to you.

Prayer is a very mysterious thing. Its effects on the minds and hearts of others cannot be calculated. Notwithstanding the bountiful promises made us, we can not know what obstacles may be opposed by the human will to the influences of divine grace. So that St. Augustine tells us not rashly to judge why it is that God draws one to the Faith, leaving another in unbelief—"Quare hunc trahat, et hunc non trahat, nolle velle judicare, si no vis errare."

I have received a pamphlet from the late convert, Mr. Edward Maturin of Halifax, son, I believe, of the Minister of Dublin, author of *Bertrand*. I believe I stated his conversion formerly. He takes up his cross courageously, which is increased by his having a family. A Miss Haywood faltered and got sick on her way to be received by Rev^d. E. Sourin. She has been the subject of prayer at some Methodist meetings, her brother being a Minister. She appears to me to want determination. You must help her by your prayers.

I presume Mr. Murphy has answered Professor Allen, as he promised me. His change of Business, or rather dissolution of partnership, has wholly occupied him for some time. The new firm of Kelly, Hedian and Piet, has engaged to publish for me "*Job and the Prophets*."

Miss Starr's health is, I fear, low. Some lines from her pen appear in the C.(atholic) Mirror on an empty tabernacle. I cannot account for the signature *Anna*, but suspect that the publisher took on himself to print it. Some

lines on the name of the Virgin will appear this week. I will watch that E. A. S. be subscribed.

Affectionate remembrance to Professor Allen, Misses Elizabeth and Julia, Heman, George. I forgot that George is in Vermont. I pray that you all may continue happy and devoted—Pray for your affect. father in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY E. (H?) ALLEN
PHILA.

LXXXIX

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, 9th APRIL, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

I will surely remember your good children living, one with the blessed, the others with the faithful. I am to begin tomorrow a novena for Mrs. Lavender of New York, formerly Miss Alton¹⁶ of N(orth) C(arolina), a convert now suffering from cancer. Many communities and individuals are solicited by her devoted husband to join in it. It is not, however, to St. Antony, but to the Sacred Heart of Our Lord. If you unite your good prayers, you will do a kind act.

I shall remember Mrs. Le Brun.

I am pleased to learn that Professor Allen will employ my publisher. "Job and the Prophets" are in Press.

Remember me aff'ly to Professor Allen and all your good children and believe me

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

¹⁶ Probably Allston—See Letter following.

XC

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MAY 11, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

Your favor reached me too late, but I supplied by offering the Holy Sacrifice for sweet Mary today. I have every confidence that her innocent soul is in the society of God's blessed Angels and Saints. I shall offer the Mass on the seventeenth according to your intention. I am much pleased to learn that Mr. Howard has joined the Church, and that Mr. Le Brun has returned to the practice of his religion, to which in his youth he showed great attachment.

Mrs. Lavender is an Allston by birth, and related to the young man whom, at her request, I visited some years ago. I do not know where his mother lives, though doubtless it is in S. Carolina, her native State.

I am thankful for the remembrance of George, to whom I beg you to give my love. Remember me also affectionately to Professor Allen and all your good children

Your friend and ser't in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

XCI

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, 4 JULY, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

In rummaging today in our Cathedral Library, which before my time, was styled by Bp. Brute, "the great Pacific

Ocean," I found a picture¹⁷ of St. Antony hid in an old Missal. This reminded me of course of sweet Mary, and of you all, so devoted to this Saint, and I enclose it, though not very precious, except for its religious associations.

Your good Bishop when here spoké with great pleasure of the results of your prayers in the conversion of several (persons).

I passed the evening with Mr. Major and his family when I visited Georgetown, a week ago, and I met there Mr. and Mrs. Guthrie, converts from Virginia. I think he was attached to the Exploring Expedition. She is the daughter of an eminent physician at Portsmouth.

The work of "Augustine Bede"¹⁸ on the Book of Common Prayer is in press. What delays the Life of St. Antony? "Job and The Prophets," a ponderous volume of 800 pages is already printed, though not published.

I have received a letter from Miss Starr, dated 8th ult. She sent me some lines on Confession. Her health is somewhat better, and her spirits good.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to all your good children, and believe me your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. M. E. (H?) ALLEN

¹⁷ The picture is pasted on the inner fold of this letter. It is a very crude little print, on thin paper, about 2½ x 4 inches. The print seems to have been colored by hand in green and red and brown. The habit is the Franciscan, brown. The face is quite unattractive. The right hand holds a lily. The left arm embraces the Infant Saviour.

¹⁸ Henry Major.

XCII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, 8 JULY, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have no medal of St. Anthony. I am pleased to know the fact which you have stated in your favor of yesterday. I cannot well make an engagement for a tea party on occasion of my contemplated visit, as I may return home immediately. But should I spend the evening out of the Bishop's house, it will certainly be with you.

I hope you will have a very pleasant trip to see George. Give him my love. Remember me also to Miss Elizabeth, on this her festival; not forgetting Miss Julia and Heman. Special regard to Professor Allen.

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

P. S.—I presume you will see Mr. Hoyt.¹⁰ I beg of you to remember me to him cordially.

XCIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. FRANCIS, (OCT, 4?), 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have not failed to remember you and yours at the Holy Altar, praying that God may grant you every true blessing. Your friend, Mr. Grugan did not call on me. I continue to receive charming letters from Miss Starr. They show

¹⁰ Hoyt—Probably William H. Hoyt, convert 1846, later, after death of his wife, ordained priest, 1877.—See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 265.

how earnest she is in the service of God. She has wonderfully sustained the trials to which she was subject. It is the ordinary lot of converts to endure great trials, under which some at length give way; as in the case of Mr. Major, who, however, is now quite renewed in spirit. His work on the Book of Common Prayer shows great earnestness and deep conviction.

Good Mr. Waldron²⁰ is coming to live with me. It is now eighteen years since I received him into the Church, and his fervor appears unabated. His deafness is a great obstacle to his usefulness in the sacred ministry.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your good children. I hope George will become an eminent Lawyer, and remain an edifying Catholic. Remember me when you write to him.

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. M. H. ALLEN

PHILA.

P. S. Miss Bessie's "Following of Christ" awaits a safe messenger.

XCIV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, OCTOBER 18, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

How the years run around! Ten years²¹ have passed,

²⁰ Edmund Quincy Sheafe Waldron, graduate of Dartmouth College—Father Waldron was later for many years rector of the church at Pikesville, Md. He died in Baltimore, April 16, 1888.

²¹ Ten years—Apparently twelve years—See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 265—Letter dated October 19, 1847—"Last week I received George Allen, his wife and five children into the fold of Mother Church."

as you remind me, since the happy day when you and your excellent husband and devoted children submitted your minds and hearts to the authority of the Catholic Church. Truly you have reason to give thanks for the precious gift of faith, which fixes our wavering minds in the belief of heavenly mysteries. Many men of mature age, great learning, high position have entered the Church within that period—Forbes, Ives, Manning, Wilberforce: with child-like simplicity they have accepted the teaching of the Church at the sacrifice of all that was dear to them. We must pray that the number may be daily increased, and that the "Children of the Kingdom" may not be cast out.

I am glad to hear from Miss Gray, and pray that she may be effectually drawn to the Church. It saddens me to reflect that some, of whom I had good hope, did not come to our communion before death. Three of the daughters of Mr. McLane became Catholics: one of them has already passed to her reward, another watched at his bed-side; but he made no advances, although he was not unkind to them. Miss Sarah Mason has reached the goal. We have had no remarkable conversions for some time.

Rev^d. Fr. Baker and the other American Fathers²² have gone on a mission, which is to occupy some months in various places. They will no doubt do great good, especially in the conversion of sinners. The saintly Bishop²³ of Buffalo takes charge of this letter being on his way to your city to give a retreat to the clergy. His Apostolic zeal will animate and encourage them.

The memory of Mary is always sweet and fragrant. Her innocence and piety have, I doubt not, secured her a place in her Father's Kingdom, through the merits of Him

²² Refers, evidently, to the community of the Redemptorists in Baltimore.

²³ John Timon.

through whom alone we can find admittance. May we all be made worthy to share in her happiness.

Please give my respects to Miss Gray and assure her of the deep interest I feel in her happiness—Time passes; eternity approaches. Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and to all your children.

Ever your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

XCV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, NOV. 8, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

I give you every permission for yourself and your friend to enter the Convent, and enjoy the society of Sister Olimpias,²⁴ so far as the Superior will consent. I am to visit it (the Convent?) on the 20th and 21st inst., and I would be happy to meet you there. Otherwise I shall be delighted to see you on your way there or on your return.

I have just got a letter from Miss Starr, in which she speaks as usual with great fervor.

Rev^d. E. Waldron is very happy here, and aids me greatly in my literary labors by reading and correcting my manuscript. I am preparing the Pentateuch for publication, my progress being backward,²⁵ to use a Hibernianism. I wish I were near Professor Allen to profit by his remarks and suggestions.

²⁴ Sister Olimpias — Probably one of the Visitation Nuns in Georgetown—Sister Olimpias Fulton was one of the Community of the Visitation Sisterhood in Philadelphia, 1848 to 1852.

²⁵ From the Psalms to Genesis.

I am greatly edified by your devotion to St. Antony, who proves himself so powerful an intercessor. I shall pray for your friend. Please give affectionate remembrance to the Professor and your good children, and believe me ever
Your devoted friend and ser't

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

XCVI

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 5, 1859

My Dear Mrs. Allen

I am grateful for your notice of my birthday. Another toll of the bell of life has been heard. When shall it sound no more for me? Pray that we may be all prepared, watchful for the summons of our heavenly Master.

I was sorry that your stay was so short, and that visitors interrupted the pleasant interview after years of separation. At the Convent you were free and more at home. The Sisters were delighted with your society, and much edified. I promise myself other opportunities of seeing yourself and family.

Since your visit I have been three days from home on a visit to a lawyer, once a devout Catholic, when a student of Law, but for many years (now) a rank infidel. For several years he is suffering from disease without hope of recovery. My mission was ineffectual, though he received me respectfully. I mention his case that devout prayers may be offered for him. He is not immoral, or impious, although wholly without faith. I have great sympathy for unbelievers. as I know how difficult it is to grasp the re-

vealed mysteries with a firm assent, and how wholly dependent on grace is faith.

A Virginian merchant residing in this city is preparing for Baptism, under the pressure of consumption. Thus one receives the gift, which another, perhaps through self reliance, has lost. Saint Augustine, however, tells us not to pronounce rashly why one is drawn by grace, another left in unbelief. The secrets of the divine judgments are impenetrable.

How prone I am to preach! You can beat me in praying, and may obtain by your prayers what I have failed to accomplish—Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and the children, and believe me ever your devoted friend—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

XCVII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 19, 1859

Dear Mr. Allen

I am sorry to inform you that the "*Meditations*" are ascribed to John Abbot Fiscamnensis, who died in 1178. St. Augustine has no address to the B. Virgin, but his acknowledgement of her sinlessness is undoubted:—"Excepta itaque Sancta Virgine, de qua, propter honorem Domini, nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quaestionem: inde enim scimus quod ei plus gratiae collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum, quae concipere et parare meruit quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum" (De Natura et Gratia, c. 36, n. 42.)

His [Augustine's] works *De Doctrina Christiana*, which is a treatise [four books] on pulpit eloquence; *De (Vera) Religione*; *De Moribus Catholicorum* [*Ecclesiae Catholicae*]; *et Macchabaeorum* [*Manichaeorum*]; *De Unitate Ecclesiae* would delight you. St. Basil is said to bear away the palm among the Greek Fathers. I hope you will succeed in getting St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine. I am pleased to find that you relish these studies. St. Cyprian is a more pleasing writer than St. Augustine, though not so profound.

I have a ragged old copy of the Confessions of St. Augustine, which I have often thought of presenting to you, but was prevented by the unseemly appearance of it: Yet the contents are so delightful that I am resolved you shall have it by the first opportunity. I may send you at the same time a catalogue of Fathers, with the distinct enumeration of their genuine works.—Ever

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROFESSOR ALLEN

PHILA.

XCVIII

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 19, 1859

Dear Mrs. Allen

Though "detached" means cold, yet I bear it, as you compliment me on my *hearty* letter. I can give you consoling news. This morning I baptized Cyrus Hollingsworth, a Virginian, who has been drawn by his devoted wife into the Church. He is in consumption, and hastening to the grave.

I thank you for the copy of the Novena, which I got through the Rev^d. E. Waldron. It is truly wonderful how this devotion sprang up and spread. Little Mary has the merit of introducing it, and her parents spread it in accordance with her last request.²⁶ How she loved Our Lord to be able to appreciate the love of St. Antony as intimated by the familiarity which Our Lord vouchsafed to him. She, no doubt, rejoices with him, and prays that those who seek his intercession may find grace and salvation.

I shall not forget you on your birthday. Your patron²⁷ obtained a blessing, although he required evidence for believing the resurrection of Our Lord. His faith was great when he exclaimed: "My Lord and My God." What a beautiful aspiration! It cannot be repeated too often. When depressed in mind we should cast ourselves on Him for support. We need fear nothing if with unwavering affection we cling to Him.

Remember me affectionately to your good children, and believe me

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

²⁶ This "Last request" of "Little Mary" is probably described in the letters of Mrs. Allen to the Archbishop. These letters possibly may be preserved in the Baltimore Archives, or among papers belonging to Francis Patrick Kenrick—Little Mary died just before Easter, 1852—See Letters XII-XIII.

²⁷ Evidently Saint Thomas Apostle, December 21.

XCIX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1860

Dear Mrs. Allen

I wish you a very happy New Year, with many graces and consolations. Rev^d. E. Waldron was absent when your last letter came, but received your message on his return from Washington. He was greatly pleased at the number of communicants in that city at the close of a Novena.

I hope Miss Gray will finally do what she has so long contemplated. There is little to hope for Mr. P. at his advanced age. Still we must pray, and adore the divine counsels, which we may not fathom.

We had a solemn ceremony at Mount de Sales on St. John's day. Sister Bernard Johnson presented three Novices, whom she had trained, and four candidates received the habit. Miss Given, a native of Scotland, whose mother lives in Georgia, took it, after having spent some years in the School. Miss Shoemaker of Philadelphia was of the number.

Give my love to your good children, Bessie and Julia with Heman, and, when you write, to George likewise.

Your devoted friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

I shall write soon to Professor Allen.

C

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JAN. 19, 1860

Dear Mrs. Allen

As you desire me to name a Confessor for you, Fathers

Blox, Sourin, and Ward may be chosen according to your inclination and convenience. They are all men of prudence and experience as well as piety. Generally the Jesuits are excellent directors. Whoever may be for the time being Superior may be safely selected.

I have just returned from St. Alphonsus', where I celebrated a Pontifical Requiem Mass for your late Bishop.²⁸ The church was crowded, chiefly Germans, members of pious associations. Father Smoulders preached a funeral oration. The Mass was sung in true ecclesiastical style without the organ.

I understood you to speak of sending to the Pope a gold medal of St. Antony. This would be unusual, and hardly proper, as his station prevents his committing himself in any way to approve of special devotions, until they pass examination before the regular tribunals. I presume that the exercises of the Novena have already been approved (episcopal approbation?) in which case no further action is desirable, unless the translation has not been submitted. In that case it might be sent with a petition for approval. The petition may embrace the original exercises and the translation. It should be forwarded through the Bishop, as Rome desires everything to pass through the proper channel.

Bishop Duggan informs me that Miss Starr is daily more and more fervent. I presume her health is improved. Mrs. Healy, wife of the artist, has been received by him (Bp. Duggan) into the Church.

Please give my love to your good children, not forgetting George.

Your devoted friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. M. H. ALLEN

²⁸ Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, died Jan. 5, 1860.

CI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JAN. 19, 1860

Dear friend

I was sorry not to meet you in Philadelphia, but I was obliged to attend to some business matters with the Bishops in the afternoon, and was afterwards quite occupied with visitors. The very plain edition of the works of St. Cyprian will take nothing from the charm of his writings. His letters are full of sweetness and force. St. Bernard, your patron, is also an admirable letter writer. I am glad that the edition of the Confessions has something to recommend it. You perceive that it has not been reduced to its present condition by my handling.

The impressions produced by the death of your late Bishop must be salutary. His virtue was solid, and his attainments considerable. I consulted him some weeks before on some difficulties regarding the Pentateuch as rendered in the Vulgate, although he pleaded that his *Biblicism* was

“Longa rubigine laesum”

“Torpet, et est multo quam fuit ante minus.”

If you were at hand, I would avail myself of your kindness to prepare my revised version for the public eye. I preserve your notes on the Gospel. My great desire is to publish two volumes, which will complete the work. The Pentateuch will appear as soon as I can secure a publisher. I avail myself of friends here to correct the copy. It will always gratify me to hear from you, and to receive any suggestions you may think proper to make.

Ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

GEO. ALLEN ESQ.

PROF. UNIVERS. PENNS'A.

CIII (?)

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, APRIL 11, 1860

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have remembered your sweet child at the holy Altar, as well as her sister, the co-incidence of whose birthday immediately after the day of the departure of Mary, is remarkable. There is no occasion for grief for one who died so innocent and full of faith and piety. You are happy in having such good children. I trust that George will be a religious as well as an honorable lawyer.

After long silence I have heard from Miss Starr. I feared that her health was entirely prostrated, but she reports favorably. I hope that Miss Gray will take the final step. How mysterious is the delay on the part of many so well disposed! Some father of the Church says: "I fear Jesus passing by." Mrs. Lavender, who, two years ago, died in New York, had conceived firm faith in the Eucharist twenty years before, when she was Miss Allston of North Carolina, on occasion of a remark of Revd^d. J. Hughes then a priest in Philadelphia. She subsequently married a Catholic, but postponed her application for admission into the Church till a year or two before her death. She was happy in coming in even at the eleventh hour. How many others delay to the end! Kindest respects to Miss Gray.

I am sorry you are to lose the Jesuits at St. John's.²⁹ The Visitor, who has come in the name of the General, deems it proper to restrict the sphere of their action, and concentrate their efforts that they may labor more effectually. In every change we must adore Divine Providence, and cling to God more closely and devotedly—Father Sourin is welcomed here.

²⁹ The Jesuits had charge of St. John's Church, Philadelphia, 1855 to 1860.

Please say to Professor Allen that I am once more in press. The Pentateuch is going forward rapidly. If he were at hand I should avail myself of his corrections and suggestions with great confidence. I have advisers here, but I fear they err sometimes, particularly in regard to orthography and grammar. Mr. Waldron is a great advocate for improvement in advance of English usage. I have not sufficient self confidence to maintain any consistency, or even to follow out suggestions which my own judgment before adopted. Please remember me affectionately to him and to your good children, with special congratulations to Miss Bessie on her birthday.

Your very devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

CIV

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, APRIL 30, 1860

Dear friend

I have been unfortunate in the use of the terms "Unusual and scarcely proper," which I applied to the presenting of a gold medal of St. Antony to his Holiness for the purpose of wearing it. I did not at all mean to depreciate the devotion, which I value highly as the instrument of so much good. Any of the Jesuits or Redemptorists acquainted with Roman usages will suggest a means by which the direct sanction of the Holy See may be obtained. The petition for indulgences is generally referred to the Congregation of Indulgences, at whose request the Pope proceeds. As I understand there are Franciscans in Philadelphia, they may be the best persons to forward the Novena and petition to the General of their Order, to have it

presented, and the golden medal may be sent, leaving to his prudence the offering of it. I should be sorry to damp your ardor in this devotion. My influence will be given cheerfully, though it is delicate for me to interfere, unless by way of supporting the action of the Ordinary (of Philadelphia). Explain the matter to Mrs. Allen, and remove all painful feeling.

I enclose an official document for Heman, to whom I wish pleasant travels and a happy return. I believe Vermont is his birthplace; but being uncertain I have left a blank, which you will please fill. His second name, Stanislaus, I believe, may also be inserted. I do not know personally any of the German prelates in the parts which Heman is about to visit.

I enjoy the Fathers more than you, for want of critical acumen to discover their faults: but I am almost exclusively engaged with the Scriptures, the depth of which I would fain fathom. Leviticus is already in press.

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Allen and your good children, and believe me ever

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

(MR. GEORGE B. ALLEN—PROFESSOR AT U. P.)²⁰

CV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MAY 30, 1860

Dear Mrs. Allen

I shall not fail to remember Heman at the holy Altar on

²⁰ This letter is folded and sealed—addressed

Professor Geo. Allen

S. 17th St., below Walnut

Philadelphia

on the last page of folder is noted—Archbishop Kenrick—May 2^d, 1860 about medal for the Pope.

the day of his sailing. I hope he will have a safe and pleasant voyage, and profitable travel, that he may console you on his return. Tell him I shall attend to all his commissions.

I regret the changes at St. John's, which impose on you the necessity of taking a new director so often. But death makes its visits unexpectedly, and the course of events is beyond our control. We must say always: "It is good for me to cleave to God, to put my hope in the Lord," and address Our Lord: "Suffer me not to be separated from Thee."

It will please you to know that I am to ordain four priests on Saturday—three of them Redemptorists, one of whom is American; and the fourth a convert with a Catholic name—More O'Connor. He was rector of some living in the north of Ireland. He belongs (now) to the diocese of Halifax. I do not know how he happened to be a Protestant; but I presume that his mother was Protestant. Some years have passed since his conversion. He is evidently of good family and respectable attainments.

We are very anxious about Dr. Roby, whose dispositions give some hope. He cannot long survive. I have great confidence in the prayers of St. Antony, and of all the Saints, though my reserve and caution make me appear less interested. I have no doubt that your sweet child (Mary) obtained many favors through his intercession—Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen, and all your good children, not forgetting George, whose visit must have greatly consoled you. To Heman please repeat my good wishes, and believe me ever

Your friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

PHILA.

NOTES ON FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN 1778.

In connection with the reports of Conrad Alexander Gérard contemporaneous newspapers throw much light upon phases of the French Alliance.

The leading patriot sheet, "The Pennsylvania Packet," was issued (after the evacuation of the city by the British) under the protection of the Military Governor of Philadelphia, the city where Congress met, and so it naturally became the official mouthpiece of that body. While the "Royal Gazette," published in New York, under British occupancy, offered opportunity for an unrestrained expression of Tory hopes and fears. In the latter sheet appeared regularly the successive proclamations of the British Sovereign; the debates in Parliament and the orders of the British military chiefs. Moreover, it was naturally the policy of this journal to belittle the power of France; inflame the hatred still existing in America against a country so lately an avowed enemy and to publish reports of "Popish plots" and religious persecutions, while exalting English institutions, and especially the "Protestant Church."

"The Royal Gazette" for Jan. 31, 1778, publishes in full the speeches of the members of both Houses of Parliament after the news of the surrender of Burgoyne had reached England. We read from the London Report, dated Nov. 20, 1777, that *Lord Chatham* remonstrates, and urges "This House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America."—

Lord Camden took pains to prove that France had in the most open manner countenanced and assisted the Americans.

Lord North assured the House that in his opinion France would not give England cause to break with her, but admitted that "America grown a separate empire, would of course cause such a revolution in the political system of the world as must stagger the resolutions of our most enterprising enemies."

Mr. Burke was most vehement in denouncing the action of the ministry.

Mr. Chas. Fox was the only really violent speaker. He laid the blame of present conditions wholly on Lord George Germain.

The House of Lords expressed itself as in entire accord with the Government.

The "*Pennsylvania Evening Post*," also a Tory paper, published, Feb. 28, a letter dated, London, Dec. 9, 1777—from which the following extract is taken:

"The account of General Burgoyne's treaty with Mr. Gates arrived when the two Houses of Parliament were sitting and in the warmth of high debate. You may imagine that the friends of government were much confounded and staggered by such a shock; but you cannot imagine how furiously, illiberally and indecently the Opposition triumphed on the occasion, opening and roaring like so many bull dogs against administration. The King, God bless him, for we never had a better one and no other nation ever had so good an one, who feels every calamity and misfortune of his people, was greatly affected, but with that magnanimity which distinguishes his character, he soon declared that such a cause could never be given up, that the loss must be retrieved by greater and more vigorous exertions and that he would even sell Hanover and all his private estate before he would desert the cause of his loyal American subjects, who had suffered so much for him.—"

Again from the same paper—Report from London, Dec. 9, 1777—

The Parliament has voted, and that too, without a division, 60,000 seamen, including 10,000 marines, for the service of the year 1778, and likewise 20,000 men, to be raised immediately as an addition to the land forces. It is positively asserted that 20, some say 30,000 Russians will in a few days be taken into the pay of Great Britain.

. . . . The spirit of the Nation seems now to be awake in good earnest Yankees beware! There is in soak a rod of admirable contexture, which will fall very heavy upon you.

And a few days later, Jan. 12, 1778.

"The fears of a French war are dissipated for the present."

"A correspondent declares that the defeat of Burgoyne has proved a fortunate event to this country. It has produced a declaration from the Minister that conducts the war that the present force in America will not be sufficient for the reduction of the Colonies. This has roused the rest of the Ministry, and the sleeping Nation in general, to make such an increase in the Royal forces, as to finish the war with success in the ensuing campaign."

The "Royal Gazette" for April 25th, 1778 reports as follows:

"London, Feb. 4th. It is inferred from some intimations of Lord North, that there is meant some conciliatory proposals to the Colonies; but of what nature, to what description of persons, or in what manner, none undertake to say He would probably allow the Americans an opportunity of returning to their allegiance under favorable terms; but should they refuse to comply with his proposals fire and destruction would be the consequence This country is able to crush America to atoms."

"Notwithstanding all the insidious publications in this capital about a French war, I believe it is very unlikely to happen — as France and the other continental powers, will

have new employment enough on their hands—etc. I can assure you that our Government is under no apprehensions of that nature (a war with France) which would not be for the interests of France, nor is the French King in the least inclined to it.”

Later on,—(copied into the “ New Jersey Gazette ” for May 13th—1778)

“ By a gentleman from Head Quarters, we learn that a French 36-gun Frigate has lately arrived at Falmouth, Casco Bay, in 36 days from Brest, in which came a passenger Mr. Simeon Dean, brother of Mr. Silas Dean, charged with despatches from the court of France to Congress, imparting that France had formed a definite treaty with America, to which Spain had acceded, ratifying our Independence, and ceding to us all the territories in America, which had been ceded to England by the last treaty of Peace, with no other condition on our part than alliance, and not to make a separate treaty of peace with England.”

The “ Pennsylvania Packet ” for May 13th publishes the Treaty of Alliance.

“ In Congress, May 6th, 1778—

“ Whereas Congress have received from their commissioners at the Court of France, copies of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and of a treaty of Alliance between the Crown of France and these United States, duly entered into and executed at Paris on the 6th day of February last, by a Minister properly authorized by His Most Christian Majesty on the one part, and the said commissioners on the other part; and whereas, the said treaties have been maturely considered and unanimously ratified and confirmed by Congress in which said treaty of Amity and Commerce are the following articles viz. articles VI, VII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XX, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, (all relating to shipping, navigation, commerce, etc.,)

“ Now therefore to the end that the said treaty may be

well and faithfully performed and kept on the part and behalf of these United States, or any of them, or of any private armed vessel commissioned by Congress, and all other the subjects of these United States, do govern themselves strictly in all things according to the above recited articles, and that they do afford the same aid and protection to the persons, commerce and property of these United States to consider the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty as their brethren and allies, and that they behave towards them with the friendship and attention due the subjects of a Great Prince, who with the highest magnanimity and wisdom hath treated with these United States on terms of perfect equality and mutual advantage, thereby rendering himself the *Protector of the Rights of Mankind*.

Extract from the Minutes,

Charles Thompson,
Secretary."

From the "Royal Gazette," May 23rd. "London March 13

"George R.

"His Majesty having been informed by order of the French King that a treaty of Amity and Commerce has been signed between the Court of France and certain persons employed by his Majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct that a copy of the declaration delivered by the French Ambassador to Lord Viscount Weymouth be laid before the House of Lords; and at the same time to acquaint them, that his Majesty has thought proper, in consequence of this offensive communication on the part of the Court of France, to send orders to his Ambassador to withdraw from the court."

From the Address in reply of the House of Lords;

"Most Gracious Sovereign;

"We etc. . . . return our humble thanks . . . for acquainting us etc. . . . and beg leave to assure your

Majesty that it is with the utmost difficulty that we can restrain the strongest expressions of the resentment and indignation which we feel for this unprovoked aggression on the honor of your Majesty's crown and the essential interests of your kingdom, contrary to the law of Nations, and injurious to the rights and possessions of every sovereign power in Europe." Then follows the address of the House of Commons couched in nearly the same terms.

"London March 13th

"It is supposed war will be declared against France on Friday or Saturday. A war with Spain will inevitably follow, but Spain for the present is shy and does not appear."

"March 21st. This day his Excellency the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador, the Marchioness and their whole suite, set off for Dover, in order to embark for France." "March 23rd.—The Marquis de Noailles arrived at Dover on Friday evening, on his return to Paris, but Lord Stormont being greatly indisposed when he received his letters of recall is not yet come over.

"Some people are of opinion that the King of France and his ministers, now that they find we are thoroughly roused, and will not suffer ourselves to be bullied, are disposed to renounce their tobacco-contract with America, and smoke the Calumet of peace with England."

The "Royal Gazette," of the same date quotes from a Baltimore paper the following extract of a letter from Samuel Chase, Esq., a member of Congress, to his Excellency Governor Johnson at Annapolis, dated Yorktown, Pa. (Sunday Morning) May 3rd, 1778.

... "On the 6th of February two treaties were concluded and signed by M. Gérard, Plenipotentiary, appointed by his Most Christian Majesty on the 30th of January preceding, for the purpose, and by our Commissioners Franklin, Dean and A. Lee. The first is a treaty of Amity and Commerce, on the plan proposed by Congress,

and almost in the words of it. The second is a treaty of Alliance, of Amity and Commerce. I cannot better inform you of the substance of the treaties than in the words of the Commissioners.—‘If England declares war against France, or occasions war by attempts to hinder her commerce, we shall then make a common cause of it and join our forces and our councils. The great aim of the treaty is declared to be ‘to establish the liberty, sovereignty and independency absolute and unlimited of the United States as well in matters of government as commerce’; and this is guaranteed to us by France, together with all the countries we possess or shall possess at the conclusion of the war. In return for which the States guarantee to France, all its possessions in America.

“We have found the greatest cordiality at this Court, and that no advantage has been taken of our present difficulties to obtain hard terms from us, but such has been the King’s magnanimity and goodness, that he has proposed none that we might not have agreed to in a state of full prosperity and established power. The principles laid down as the basis of the treaty being, as declared in the preamble, the most perfect equality and reciprocity.’ The privileges in trade etc. are mutual, and none are given to France but what we are at liberty to grant, to any other nation.

“By the second treaty France has renounced forever, pretensions to any part of the Continent lately or now in possession of Great Britain, or ceded to her by the treaty of Paris, and to the island of Bermuda.

“The account of General Burgoyne’s defeat was received in Paris the beginning of December. Our commissioners immediately pressed for the conclusion of the treaty and a council was called on the 12th in which it was decided to acknowledge and support our independency. Our Commissioners are of the opinion that the treaty with France will certainly be followed by the whole House of Bourbon

and probably by Holland. The preparations for war continue daily and France is determined to protect the commerce with us."

In the "Pennsylvania Packet" for May 27th is to be found the following statements:

"London, March 6th

"The officers belonging to all the regiments in England, who are absent from their corps, have received orders to join them immediately."

"March 7th. The five Commissioners to be appointed by virtue of the act of Parliament now passing for the purpose of quieting the disorders subsisting in the Colonies are:

The Earl of Carlisle

William Eden, Esq.

Captain Johnson of the British Navy.

(formerly governor of West Florida.—)

also Lord Howe and General Clinton."

"March 10th. Two thousand men, being about half the number to be raised by the new Scottish levies, have received orders to embark on the 2nd of April in the Clyde. . .

"March 12th. Orders are sent to Portsmouth for two men of war and a frigate to be got in readiness to carry to America the Commissioners, who are to adjust all disputes with the different Colonies; they are to sail the beginning of next month.

"March 23rd . . . Letters by the last French mail say, that all the English families in and near Paris, had received the usual notice to quit the kingdom within a certain limited time, and were preparing for their route to England accordingly." "Yesterday His Majesty went to the House of Peers attended by the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Oxford and gave the Royal assent to the following bills: viz.

"— The bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commis-

sioners with sufficient powers to treat and agree upon means of quieting the disturbances now subsisting in certain of the American Colonies.

“— The bill to declare the intention of the Parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of imposing taxes in the American Colonies.

“— The bill to repeal an act that imposed a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any of the American Colonies.

“— The bill to repeal an act to regulate the government of Massachusetts Bay.”

From the “ *Pennsylvania Packet* ”—

“ On Thursday the 18th of June, the British Army under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, completed their evacuation of this city, after having possession of it about nine months. The indiscriminate destruction of Whig and Tory property—strongly mark the character of those British Savages. They have increased the resentment of their old enemies and turned the hearts of their friends. Many who welcomed them into the city, who were deceived and seduced by their spacious proclamations, followed them with the bitterest execrations. A few citizens, whose conduct and whose crimes gave them no reason to hope for mercy from their countrymen, went off with the British Army.”

The “ *Penna. Evening Post*,” for June 20th has this entry:

“ Yesterday morning Major General Arnold took possession of this city, with Col. Jackson’s Massachusetts regiment.” And later, “ July 11th—By an express this day at noon from Chester we hear his Excellency the French Ambassador is safe arrived at this place, and that he is expected in town this evening.”

July 14, the “ *Penna. Packet*,” after announcing the arrival of the Minister, comments thus:

"Who would have thought . . . that the American Colonies, imperfectly known in Europe a few years ago, and claimed by every pettifogging lawyer in the Houses of London as a part of their property, should in the course of three years of a war with Great Britain, receive an Ambassador from the most powerful Monarchy in Europe."

The "Royal Gazette" of May 30th publishes among others, the following notes received from London, dated March 14th, 1778:

"As to a French war, be not alarmed, for though it appears probable . . . I think with our perfect naval and military preparations we shall be able to convince *Monsieur* of his being but a young statesman, and that he will reap but little advantage from the infamous bargain he has concluded with Franklin, Dean and Lee with a view to rob Great Britain of her just rights etc."

"We are informed that the cabinet of Versailles with the King at their head, are to a man against breaking with Great Britain, except *Sartines*, who, assisted by his creature *Beaumarchais*, is indefatigable in his endeavors to bring on a war between the two countries."

The "Royal Gazette" for July 4th, quotes a speech delivered March 2nd in the House of Commons, from which the following extracts have been taken:

"An alliance of the British Colonies, with the French King, against their Mother Country, is most unnatural, and can only be dictated by despair."

"The union of the severest Protestants, with a great, powerful and ambitious Catholic State."

"The plain and simple manners of the Americans with the fashions, customs and character of a high-polished and luxurious Nation."

"The clay and the metal will not cohere."

"Misery may make men take up with strange companions for a time, but such connections can not long subsist."

"But it is said that it is too late to offer these terms of peace to the revolted colonies and that at this time no success can be expected from the commission to treat with them. Sir, it is my humble opinion that these measures at this time have a fairer prospect of success than they would have had at the beginning of the trouble."

Referring to the Royal Commissioners now arrived in America, the "Pennsylvania Packet" for June 17th says: "They appear not to possess any authority to treat with North America as a free and independent Nation. On Monday last a joint application from these commissioners was considered in Congress. . . ."

July 4th the same paper states:

"Doctor Ferguson, Secretary to his Majesty's Commission for restoring peace, submitted to Congress the despatch from the King:—

'George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.—

". . . . In our anxiety for preserving those sacred and essential interests, (common religion and liberty), we cannot help taking notice of the insidious interpolation of a power, which has, from the first settlement of these colonies, been actuated with enmity to us both, and notwithstanding the pretended date or present form of the French offers to North America, yet it is notorious that these were made in consequence of the plan of accommodation previously concerted with Great Britain and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war. But we trust that the inhabitants of North America, connected with us by the nearest ties of consanguinity, speaking the same language, interested in the preservation of similar institutions, remembering the former happy intercourse of good offices and forgetting recent animosities, will shrink from the thought of becoming an accession of force to our late mutual enemy and will prefer a firm, and a free and a

perpetual coalition with the parent state, to an insincere and unnatural foreign alliance. . . ."

After the lengthy document comes the reply of the President of Congress:

"I have received the letter of your Excellencies of the 9th instant with the enclosures and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these States; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent Nation.

". . . . The Colonies will be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose: the only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

"I have the honor to be etc.—

signed by the unanimous voice of Congress,

Henry Laurens, President.

York-Town (Pa.) June 17th, 1778."

From the "Royal Gazette," July 11th.—

"Paris, April 20th. According to authentic letters from Toulon, Count D'Estaing sailed from that place the 13th inst. with his squadron consisting of etc. . . .

". . . . It is known that some persons of distinction were to embark. . . . This embarkation was made with profound mystery and the public can only yet form conjectures on the subject. Secrecy has been no less observed in regard to the destination of the squadron etc. . . ."

On the 11th of April, Gérard (doubtless the person of distinction, who was to embark,) wrote to the Comte de Vergennes:

" Monseigneur;

" I arrived here at the moment fixed. Everything is in great activity among the fleet and there is hope that all will be ready by next Monday.

" The arrival of some English here having occasioned some speculations, and M. le Comte d'Estaing desiring to have them forgotten, we are embarking for Hieres, supposedly for the Antiles, and we will go to join the fleet only when it is on the high seas. To better cover our traces, he will give orders to not admit any strangers amid the crowd of curious, who come to visit the *Languedoc*. Moreover, Monseigneur, M. the Vice-Admiral alone can give account of the execution of this project because I will embark and join him only after the courier which he must send, has left. But I would not leave Europe without begging you to permit me to renew the homage of eternal gratitude which I owe to your goodness, and the zeal which animates me for your glory independently of all I owe to the service of the King. These are powerful springs. It is by their action on my soul, that I dare hope to show myself not unworthy of the confidence which you have been good enough to accord me.

" I am with an infinite respect, Monseigneur,
Your very humble and very obedient servant

Gérard."

The Comte de Vergennes to M. Gérard:

" At Versailles,

the 26th of June 1778—

" I profit by the departure of a vessel destined for Boston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 18th May.

" You may judge by yourself how much the long delay in the Mediterranean has caused us anxiety and pain and with what impatience we will wait the news of your arrival. We hope that you have had a fortunate voyage and at the actual

moment that you are very near your destination. It would be superfluous to tell you how anxious we are to be informed of the event.

"The two frigates, charged to carry our treaties to America have happily returned, and according to the report the two commanders have made, our alliance with the United States has caused a joy as great as universal; and this disposition of mind does not permit us to doubt that Congress will speedily send us the ratifications.

"A Gazette has reached us from Yorktown, actual residence of Congress, dated the 4th of May. This paper speaks of the arrival of Mr. Simeon Dean, bearer of our treaties. It reports, correctly enough several articles of the treaty of Alliance and encloses a discourse which it credits you with having held to the American Deputies when you saw them for the first time after the news of the defeat of General Burgoyne, to inform them of the good disposition of the King in regard to the United States. According to the relation, you are supposed to have declared among other things, that "the King, if he entered into war with England on their account, had no thought of even requiring that they should not make peace separately for themselves, in the case where useful and advantageous terms should be made them; that the only condition required by his Majesty and upon which he counted, was that in any treaty of peace with England the colonies should not renounce their independence to return to obedience to the government." This language, Monsieur, would have been too contrary to our views, and you knew them too well for me to suppose that you actually held them and I have not in this regard the shadow of a doubt. But I fear that they were imputed to you by the American Deputies and that Congress as well as the American people regard these sentiments as the base of our treaties, and that they believe themselves entirely free to treat with Great Britain without our know-

ledge when, and under what conditions they judge ápropos. It is all the more important to us, Monsieur, to destroy such an erroneous opinion as it would destroy the entire system upon which our treaties of alliance are based, and that if Congress takes it for a compass it may happen it makes peace with England while we have the most bloody war as a result of having favored and assured the success of the cause of the United States. I perfectly remember that this object is in the instructions which the King gave you before your departure, and I know too well your prudence, your zeal, and your intelligence not to be certain that you will occupy yourself with it immediately on your arrival. Nevertheless I cannot dispense myself from recalling it to you and to recommend it to your care in the most particular manner, because it will be necessary to recall the members of Congress from an opinion which might lead them astray, and cause them, though with the best will in the world, to take false steps, as destructive to the interests of America as our own; and it is all the more necessary for us to enlighten them . . . our own position regarding England is at the highest point of the crisis and that we regard a state of war as actually existing between the two crowns. The following details will leave you no doubt in this regard. . . .

“This state of things, Monsieur, should convince the Americans of the sincerity of the sentiments which has induced the King to unite with them and the good faith which His Majesty holds to the engagement he has taken to support their cause; it should make them especially feel the obligation which their honor imposes on them as well as their interest, to make on their part, every effort that may be in their power to second those of France, and to triumph over the common enemy. The King flatters himself, Monsieur, that you will not have difficulty in penetrating them with these reflexions and that they will determine Congress

invariably, as it has engaged itself, not to listen to any proposition of England except in concert with His Majesty. You will not hesitate to assure the chiefs of that assembly that we will conduct ourselves according to the same principle, and that there can be no question of peace with us except as the United States concur therein. . . .”

The tendency of the American patriots to overestimate the generosity of the French King, and to shirk their own share of responsibility formed one of the most difficult problems Gérard had to meet. It comes out strongly in an article printed in large type in the *Pennsylvania Packet* for July 9th, 1778, in a reply to the address of the English Commissioners, which contains the following statement: “He (the King of France) will not so much as insist, if he should engage in the war with England on our account, that we should not make a separate peace for ourselves, whenever good and advantageous terms are offered us. The only condition he should require and rely on, would be this, *that we in no peace to be made with England should give up our Independence and return to the obedience of that Country.* These preliminaries were by Monsieur Gérard in the name of His Most Christian Majesty announced to the American Commissioners at Paris on the 16th day of December last.”—

It might be permissible to note here that this gross and willful misinterpretation of the terms of the French treaty, undoubtedly emanated from the archenemy of all Franco-American intercourse, Mr. Arthur Lee, whose presence in Paris as one of the Commissioners was maintained by the Party of the Opposition in Congress, headed by *Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee.*

The “Royal Gazette” takes notice of the indifference of Congress to the needs of the army. In the issue of July 4th the following extract from a letter written by a gentleman in Boston is given:

"Of all the strange things that have fallen under my observation in the course of fifty years, none has appeared stranger than the conduct which has been held towards George Washington and his army. That illustrious man, who has sacrificed every private view to the public service, has been neglected in a manner that I am ashamed to tell. He has sometimes been left with hardly men enough to defend himself; and that brave handful of men have been permitted to suffer the hardships of nakedness during the rigors of winter. . . . and all this while advices from Europe concurred in assuring us that the British Ministry, fired with indignation at their ill success were straining every nerve to collect all the forces they could to reinforce general Howe. . . . Because the war was not about our own door we seemed to have been seized with a dead lethargy. . . . The last winter was spent in framing a constitution of Government while it remains uncertain whether we shall have any country to govern."

After the arrival of the French fleet bringing the French Minister to America, the tone of the Royal Gazette becomes bitterly sarcastic although at times one of genuine alarm is clearly revealed.

July 29 this entry is made: "The event of Messrs. D'Estaing and Gérard's arrival in America, so productive of *quid nunc* matter for the rebel papers, has occasioned the printers in Philadelphia to raise the price from Sixpence to one shilling currency, for each paper, and in that city there are now six newspapers published weekly."

In the same issue:

"The ceremony observed at the landing of the French Ambassador and Mr. Silas Dean has created a good deal of uneasiness in the minds of the spectators. Immediately on their setting foot on shore, Mr. Dean cutting a piece of turf, formally delivered it to Monsieur Gérard, who received it with great solemnity, *applied it to his lips and then*

crossed himself with much apparent devotion. . . . If this be considered as the cession of the whole or part of America, in consequence of the late treaty the Congress have acted wisely in keeping back from the people's view the secret articles that related to it; for I believe that, however fond their constituents may now be of their "*great and good Ally*," the King of France, they are hardly so infatuated as to choose Louis for their master." From the "Royal Gazette," Sept. 16th:

"We hear that upon the Comte D'Estaing's landing on the island of Conanicut, he formally took possession of it in the name of the King of France, and buried a stone to perpetuate his taking the possession of it in form. This fact, together with the ceremony of the turf and twig performed by the Count and Mr. Silas Dean, fully proves the designs of the Court of France respecting America, and must convince the deluded people of these colonies that the confederacy, or to speak more truly, the conspiracy between that court and the American Congress, must terminate in the total subversion of their liberties and religion."

From the "Royal Gazette" Oct. 17th, 1778:—

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

"We are credibly informed that the French vessel lately taken, brought despatches of great importance to Count D'Estaing, and that the first article of the instructions therein contained was, to proclaim Louis XVI in every province in America, and to take immediate possession of New England as a security for the debt already incurred. In the second article the Count is ordered to make every member of Congress swear allegiance to his Most Christian Majesty, or in case of refusal to confine them in the *New Bastile* at Philadelphia.

"This vessel, besides despatches, brought a considerable cargo consisting of the following articles:

"	Mass Books	50,000
	Racks and wheels	200
	Consecrated Wafers	3,000,000
	Crucifixes	15,000
	Rosaries	70,000
	Wooden Shoes	200,000
	Paint for the Ladies' faces, five chests.	

"We also learn that the passengers on board were all priests, in the disguise of hair-dressers, tooth-drawers, fiddlers, and dancing masters.

"By letters brought by the same ship, we are likewise informed that Dr. Franklin has adjured the Protestant religion, and that he is decorated with the order of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem."

A comic song to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" was very popular among the Tories. It is printed in the "Royal Gazette" for Oct. 3rd; the two opening stanzas are as follows:

- I. From Lewis, Monsieur Gérard came,
To Congress in the town Sir,
They bowed to him, and he to them,
And then they all sat down Sir.
- II. Begar said Monsieur, one grand *Coup*
You shall *bientôt* behold Sir;
This was believed as Gospel true
And Jonathan felt bold Sir."

But even the Royal Gazette was forced to take notice of "one good event that has been produced by the misfortune of the times . . . the abrogation of the penal laws in England and Ireland."

In relation to this matter the "Pennsylvania Packet" has numerous entries. The issue for September 20th gives a

letter from a correspondent in Ireland, dated Cork, May 20th, 1778. "I should not be surprised," he says, "to see a general Congress elected by the Irish to redress their grievances, provided a necessary assistance, encouragement and support is denied them by the Ministry."

The "Pennsylvania Evening Post" for August 6th says:

"The House of Commons went into Committee on the Irish business; removing the "Unjust and shameful" restrictions on the trade of Ireland, "which had in great measure depopulated and desolated the Kingdom." Commenting on the above it says further:

"Perhaps a question may be properly asked whether does Ireland owe to England or America these important concessions? If they are the effect, as is probable, of the present situation of affairs, what American does not exult in the thought that the successful struggle he has made for his own rights has already spread its happy influence to a distant nation. We need say nothing to the natives of Ireland now living in America, for they will feel a purer and higher joy than any other can express. There is another set of men whose inward thoughts after perceiving the above, it would be entertaining to observe, if it were possible to discover them; I mean those traitors to their country who have been doing their utmost by words, actions and writings to persuade us to submit to the dominion of England. What must they think of this single concession of British injustice and tyranny that for ages has held sway over a sister but dependent Kingdom."

A British subject writing from London says: (from the *Penna. Packet*) "It has been repeatedly said by the most impartial writers, that the wounds which France suffers by a war are more easily closed, and she sooner recovers her situation than any other nation in the world, while Great Britain feels diametrically the contrary."

ELIZABETH S. KITE



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VOL. XXXII

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THE WORK OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES PITTSBURGH

1843 to 1921

The material information for this sketch of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States has been gathered chiefly from the *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, published in four volumes, 1881-1895—The Catholic Publication Society Company, New York; later, P. O'Shea; now out of print. The Catholic Directory, 1843 and later, has contributed its part of official information. Catholic periodicals of the time have been consulted for contemporary accounts of the Sisters' activities. *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, by John Gilmary Shea and the "Diary" and "Correspondence" of Francis Patrick Kenrick have also furnished points of necessary information on general and local diocesan Catholic history.

THE first community of the Sisters of Mercy arrived in Pittsburgh, December 21, 1843. Seven Sisters of the order founded in 1827, by the venerable Katharine McAuley in Baggot Street, Dublin, came in response to the earnest personal appeal of Bishop O'Connor to share the burden of Apostolic work, of Charity and Mercy in the new diocese.¹

¹ Pittsburg, established Aug. 8, 1843, was the first of the seven new dioceses to be carved out of the original see of Philadelphia, which

The Bishop was the Sisters' traveling companion on the voyage (probably a sailing vessel) to New York, thence by stage overland, by way of Philadelphia, to their new home. The names of the Sisters in the first colony were: Mother Mary Frances (Xavier) Warde, Superior,² Sister M. Josephine Cullen (a relative of Cardinal Cullen), Sister M. Elizabeth Strange and Sister M. Aloysius Strange, (sisters kindred and cousins to Cardinal Wiseman), Sister M. Philomena Reid, Sister M. Veronica Darby and Sister Margaret O'Brien, a postulant.

The Sisters spent the first night at the Orphanage,—St. Paul's,—the guests of the Sisters of Charity. On the following day, December 22, they took possession of their

embraced, when it was established in 1808, the entire state of Pennsylvania, Delaware and the South and Western sections of New Jersey, known as "West Jersey"—Erie was cut off from Pittsburg in 1853, Harrisburg and Scranton were established in 1868. Wilmington was formed at the same time, but, in addition to the state of Delaware, was given jurisdiction over the Catholics living on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, that is, the section of these states to the east of the Chesapeake Bay, northward from Cape Charles. Trenton was made a distinct diocese in 1881. Altoona was formed in 1901.

² Mother M. Frances Warde was born at Monrath, Queen's County, Ireland, about 1810. She entered the Order of Our Lady of Mercy 1828, received the habit of religion January 23, 1832; was the first to make her vows of holy profession under Mother McAuley in Dublin, Ireland, January 24, 1833; died Mt. St. Mary's, Manchester, N. H., September 17, 1884. Twenty-seven foundations claim Mother Francis Warde as foundress,—

Carlow, Ireland, 1837; Naas, Ireland, 1839; Wexford, Ireland, 1840; Westport, Ireland, 1842. In the United States—Pittsburg, Pa., 1843; Chicago, Ill., 1846; Providence, R. I., 1851; Hartford, Conn., 1852; New Haven, Conn., 1853; Newport, R. I., 1854; Pawtucket, R. I., 1856; Rochester, N. Y., 1857; St. Augustine, Florida, 1857; Manchester, N. H., 1858; Philadelphia, Pa., 1861; Omaha, Neb., 1864; Bangor, Me., 1865; Yreka, Cal., 1871; N. Whitefield, Me., 1871; Jersey City, N. J., 1871; Princeton, N. J., 1871; St. Johnsbury, Vt., 1872; Burlington, Vt., 1874; Bordentown, N. J., 1874; Indian Mission, Me., 1878; Beering, Me., 1881; Dover, N. H., 1883.

Convent Home, previously prepared for their accommodation, a four-story brick building on Penn Street, now Penn Avenue. The first activity of the Institute was the opening of a Sunday School in the Cathedral Church, St. Paul's. Five hundred children were enrolled for instruction in Christian Doctrine. Their next step was the visitation of the sick and the poor of the parish and the neighboring towns, caring for them in their own homes. During the following summer 1844, the basement of the Convent was fitted up for school purposes and in September, the Sisters opened their first school in the United States. Thus was wrought in the great Republic of the West, the first link of that momentous chain forged in Baggot Street, Dublin, which has spanned the continents, uniting the spiritual and corporal works into one vast Chaplet of Mercy.

Pittsburgh in 1843, as every other industrial center in the United States, needed the spiritual work of religious communities devoted to Charity, Mercy and Education. The Diocese, formed in 1843 from the See of Philadelphia, comprised what was commonly called "The Western District of Pennsylvania". The Catholic population of the city numbered about twenty thousand souls. There were only two churches, St. Patrick's and St. Paul's, and the congregation of German Catholics under the care of the Redemptorists, later the parish of St. Philomena. St. Paul's had a free school, also an Orphanage, both in charge of the Sisters of Charity (Mother Seton Community), a foundation from Emmittsburg, Maryland. There had been an Academy and Boarding School for girls at Mt. Alvernia, near Pittsburgh, directed by a congregation of Poor Clares, as early as 1830. This had been closed and the Community disbanded in 1839.*

Ten days after the arrival of the new colony, January 1,

* See Bishop Kenrick's *Diary*, pp. 64-80-110-111-117-142-176-177.

1844, the Sisters renewed their vows according to their custom. By the Bishop's request, the renewal was made a public ceremony. This encouraged them to face the difficulties and the work which Providence brought to them in the land of their adoption, the home of their choice and future activities. Present in the Convent Chapel at this ceremony of renewal of vows, was one destined to take a prominent part during her short life in the Sisterhood, Elizabeth Jane Tiernan, the first American postulant to the Sisters of Mercy, who one month later, February 2, 1844, entered the novitiate in Pittsburg. Miss Bessie McCaffrey from Cleveland, Ohio, followed, October 22 of the same year, and Miss Elizabeth Wynne, daughter of Major Wynne of Pittsburg, joined the ranks of the Sisterhood on the feast of All Souls, November 2, 1844. Several lay Sisters also were admitted during the same year.

On February 22, 1844, the first ceremony of religious reception took place also in the Sisters' chapel. Miss Margaret O'Brien, who came with the first band from Ireland, a postulant, received the habit of religion and the name Sister Mary Agatha from Bishop O'Connor. Later, 1846, Sister Mary Agatha was sent to Chicago as Superior of the first Community to direct the work of the Sisterhood in that new foundation.

The first public ceremony of religious reception and profession took place, April 11, 1844 in St. Paul's Cathedral by request of Bishop O'Connor. The usual place for holding these religious ceremonies is the Convent Chapel. Sister Aloysius Strange, who came here from Ireland as a novice, and was the first Sister of Mercy to be professed in America, made her final vows; Miss Elizabeth Tiernan received the habit of religion and the name Sister Mary Xavier. Bishop O'Connor preached on the occasion. In order to have a joint ceremony, the Bishop had anticipated the regular time of reception by four months, while the pro-

fession of Sister Aloysius Strange was four months deferred.

St. Paul's Parish School, the first school of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States was opened in the basement of the Convent, September 1844. The basement was not adapted for school purposes but was made available by the ingenuity and the energy of the Sisters.

In the life of Mother Xavier Warde⁴ the horarium of this school and the class work of the day are given: Classes began at 9 o'clock. At 12 o'clock there was an intermission of two hours to enable the children to go home for dinner. At two o'clock classes were resumed and continued until 4 o'clock. "Arithmetic was taught for one hour each day. Reading, Writing, Spelling, and English Grammar" made up the remainder of the day's program. History and Geography, English and Bookkeeping were taught on alternate days.

In 1844, the Sisters secured title to one hundred and fifty acres of land, the Kuhn farm, in Westmoreland County, near Youngstown, now Latrobe. This land had been a gift to Bishop O'Connor. The purpose of the gift was to establish a Catholic School under the supervision of a religious community. The work of boarding Schools was, perhaps, not a part of the expressed design of Mother McAuley, the holy foundress, who met conditions peculiar to the people, and the poorer classes in Ireland as they existed 1825 to 1850. However, guided by the counsel of Bishop O'Connor, the Sisters realized that the needs of the diocese demanded a departure from the letter of the Constitutions in minor points of observance and work not foreign to the spirit of the Rule.⁵

⁴*Life of Reverend Mother M. Xavier Warde*—by the Sisters of Mercy, Mount St. Mary's, Manchester, New Hampshire—Boston, Marlier and Co., 1902, pp. 109-110.

⁵Some of the Boarding Schools for girls in the eastern section

In April 1845, Mother Warde and Mother Josephine Cullen, accompanied by Bishop O'Connor, went to view the property at Youngstown, for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the future boarding school, St. Xavier's. During the month of May, the Sisters were established in the priest's house at St. Vincent's, Father Stillinger having given his own house for the Sisters' use until their convent should be ready for occupancy. Mother Josephine Cullen was appointed Superior.* The building was a two-story structure containing twelve rooms. Later a kitchen, a dining-room and two class rooms were added. Here the Sisters remained until 1847 when St. Xavier's the new building, was opened. Among the first pupils of St.

of the country at this time were *The Academy of the Visitation*, Georgetown, opened by "The Pious Ladies" in 1805, another school in Baltimore, Park and Centre Streets, opened by the Sisters of the Visitation in 1838, St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg, Mother House of the Sisters of Charity, Mother Seton's foundation, 1809; St. Peter's Boarding School, Wilmington, Del., and an Academy at Frederick, Maryland, both under the care of the Sisters of Charity. The Boarding School at McSherrystown, Pennsylvania, had been in charge of the Sisters of Charity 1834 to 1840. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart took this school in 1842, and remained, apparently, until 1852 or 1853. The Sisters of St. Joseph have had the care of this school now since 1854. The school of the Ursulines opened at Mt. St. Benedict's, Charlestown, near Boston, in 1826, had been destroyed by a mob crazed momentarily by anti-Catholic traditions and hate, Aug. 11, 1834. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart had just opened their school in Houston Street, New York, later removed to Ravenswood, Long Island. At Binghamton, New York was the school of Mrs. Edward White (sister of Gerald Griffin) and her daughters from 1836 to 1852.

After Mrs. White's death in 1851, this school was discontinued, but five of the daughters still followed the work of teaching in Convent life. Two, Ann and Geraldine, entered the Visitation Convent, Georgetown. Anastasia and Katharine entered the Sisterhood of Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Manhattanville. Ellen, the oldest became a Sister of Charity, Mother Seton foundation. In Pittsburg, Mt. Alvernia, the Poor Clares had had their school earlier than 1830 until 1839. See *Diary of Bishop Kenrick*, pp. 64-110-III-117-142-176-177.

* Annals of the Sisters of Mercy, vol. III, p. 89.

Xavier's enrolled were Misses Ellen Shoemaker, Anna Elena Ihmsen, Susan Myers, Anna McCaffrey, Alice Mulvaney, Catherine McGirr, Sarah Blakely, daughters of leading families of Western Pennsylvania. In the meantime a free school was opened in the sacristy of St. Vincent's Church to offer opportunities of education and religious instruction to the children of the parish. This was the beginning, so far as we know, of the first parish school of the diocese outside of the city of Pittsburgh. The beginnings of the Sister's work in the Academy are given in a news note in the *Catholic Herald* of August 1, 1845.

"TAKING THE VEIL—Correspondence of the Pittsburgh Catholic"

Youngstown, July 1845.

Mr. Editor:

Your readers are I presume already aware that the Sisters of Mercy have established a branch of their order at Youngstown, Westmoreland County.

Mr. Henry Kuhn, one of the old Catholic settlers, has given them 150 acres of excellent land, on which they are erecting extensive and suitable buildings, so that this is likely to become the central establishment of the Order."

The account then describes the "Solemn reception" of three Sisters in St. Vincent's Church,⁷ July 26, 1845. Rev. J. A. Stillinger celebrated the Mass. The Bishop (O'Connor) spoke. The Church was crowded. The names of the new Sisters are Sister M. Vincent (Miss M. A. McGirr), Sister M. Gertrude (Miss Katharine Maguire), and Sister M. Bridget Tobin.

⁷ St. Vincent's property was acquired by Rev. Theodore Browsers, O. S. F., 1790. The farm contained 313 A. 8 P. and was known in the patent deed as "Sportsman Hall". *Records Am. Cath. Hist.* 1888-91, p. 172. See also Kenrick's *Diary*, pp. 57-58-59-109.

The Catholic Directory of 1847 gives an account of the advantages in education, music and needlework furnished in the new Academy.

"The course of studies embraces: History, Philosophy, Music, Drawing, Plain and Ornamental Needlework, French, Italian, etc.

"The institution offers peculiar advantages to young ladies wishing to acquire a solid and refined education. It is situated about two miles from Youngstown, in one of the most healthy sections of Western Pennsylvania, sufficiently elevated to command from every point, an extensive view of the delightful country which surrounds it. While every attention will be paid to the comfort of the pupils, special care will be taken to nourish in their minds those principles of virtue and religion which alone can make education profitable."

TERMS.

Tuition, including Bed and Bedding, Washing, Mending, etc.

(paid half-years in advance)	\$100.00
Music, and the use of the Piano, per quarter	8.00
Vocal Music	5.00
Painting and Drawing	5.00
French	5.00
Italian	5.00

For further particulars apply to the Superioress of the Convent.

"There is a select school for young Ladies under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, at their principal house, Penn Street, Pittsburg, about sixty pupils attend.

"There is another Day School at the Asylum, Coal

Lane, also under the care of the Sisters of Mercy. About 200 pupils attend".⁸

The Kuhn farm had lain uncultivated for many years. Farm implements and household articles were in consequence needed. The purchase of these and transportation from Pittsburgh made a serious drain on the Sisters' financial resources. Consequently a small building to accommodate not more than forty pupils was designed for the first St. Xavier's Academy. This was about two miles from St. Vincent's Church.

The opening of the Academy at St. Vincent's made new demands for teachers at the Mother House. The Sisters saw that if their work was to continue they must grow apace with the needs of the community at large. Accordingly, Mother Warde, accompanied by Sister Mary Xavier, returned to Ireland, August, 1845, for recruits for the work in America. They returned December of the same year, 1845, and brought back with them three professed Sisters, Sister M. Gertrude Blake (Superior of Birr), Sister Anastasia McGawley (Mother Assistant in Cork), Sister M. Augusta Goold, and two aspirants to the Mercy Sisterhood. This strengthened force enabled the Sisters to meet other demands for their services. The Orphan Asylum, St. Paul's, and Day School on Coal Lane were given in charge of the Sisters of Mercy in March, 1846.⁹ The Asylum, supported by the people of the parish had on re-

⁸ The same Directory notes that "There are Day Schools for German children in and about Pittsburg, in which 300 pupils are in attendance". p. 183.

⁹ These institutions had both been in charge of the Sisters of Charity since 1838. In July, 1845, the Sisters of Charity were withdrawn. Some pious ladies then took charge of the orphan girls until March, 1846. The boys were placed temporarily under the care of the Presentation Brothers. The day school was closed and remained closed until reopened by the Sisters of Mercy.

gister 30 orphan girls, the records of the Day School show an enrollment of 200 pupils.

In 1846, at the request of Bishop Quarter, and consent of Bishop O'Connor, a foundation from Pittsburg was established in Chicago. Six Sisters were sent with Mother M. Agatha O'Brien, Superior. Mother Warde accompanied them and remained several months until the community was settled in their new home. After the departure of the six Sisters for Chicago, it was found necessary to close the Academy on Penn Street, in order to supply teachers for the Cathedral School. However, to provide for the future development and accommodations for new members, the Sisters in Pittsburg, Penn Street, moved into new quarters, also on Penn Street. This new residence was formerly known as "Concert Hall", later, "Liberty Hall".

On January 1, 1847, Mother Warde, with the sanction of Bishop O'Connor, transformed the ball room of "Concert Hall" into a hospital. This was the beginning of Mercy Hospital, and first hospital in the Western district of Pennsylvania and the first hospital of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States. The prevalence of what was then known as "ship fever," and the need of caring for the health of men employed on the river boats engaged in trade on the Ohio river were occasions which moved the Sisters first to turn the "Concert Hall ball room" into an emergency hospital, then to establish Mercy Hospital as a permanent institute of relief and charity.¹⁰

During the year 1848-1849, four hundred and four patients were treated at Mercy Hospital. The work of Mercy Hospital and charges to its patrons described in the

¹⁰ John Coghill, one of the rioters of the Know-Nothing movement in Philadelphia was the first patient treated at the Mercy Hospital.—*Annals of Sisters of Mercy*, Vol. III, p. 118.

Catholic Directory of 1851, are of historic interest. We shall insert the notice here.—

“As many patients as the means of the Institute permit, are received free”.

“Pay patients in general ward are charged \$3.00 a week. Those who occupy private rooms pay \$5.00 a week”. . . .

“Ample accommodations for about eighty patients”.
(Cath. Directory, 1851, p. 127).

The Sisters remained in “Concert Hall” until 1848, when on the advice of Dr. Addison, one of the hospital staff, it was deemed imperative, on account of its unsanitary condition, that the Sisters should vacate the house which had been used as an emergency hospital. The Bishop (O'Connor) gave them his own residence near the Cathedral, while he and his attendant priests received hospitality among the members of the congregation. The Sisters remained here, in the Bishop's residence, until December, 1850, when they took possession of the recently completed convent, Coal Lane, now (1821) St. Mary's Convent of Mercy, Webster Avenue. This was the Mother House and headquarters of the Sisters of Mercy of the Pittsburg diocese until 1855 when the Mother House was transferred to St. Xavier's, Latrobe, Westmoreland County. The parish school of St. Paul was during these years conducted in St. Mary's Convent. The orphans also had a home in rooms set apart for the purpose in the rear of the same building.

The Charter which incorporates the Sisters of Mercy in the State of Pennsylvania in 1848 is a document worthy of study. The fact that the laws of Pennsylvania recognize as “a body politic and corporate” an association of “religious women living in community devoted to charitable works” and whose aim is “the relief and support of the sick, destitute and dependent persons, the maintenance of

orphans, and the care and education of youth", is a precedent in law and history from which modern legislators, politicians and sociological theorizers could learn practical lessons and the solution of problems of our own times. We shall quote the charter in part:

"AN ACT—to incorporate the Sisters of Mercy of the county of Allegheny."

"SECTION 1—Be it enacted—That Frances Theresa Ward, Hester Strange, Frances Brown, Mary Fennessy, Elizabeth Goold, Mary Gillespie, Mary McCreehy, Maryanne Fisher, Elizabeth Blake, Elizabeth McCaffery, Mary McCaffery, Elizabeth Wynn, Ellen Cullen, and their associates, members of the society known as the Sisters of Mercy, being a society of religious women living in community and devoted to charitable works, be and they are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name, style and title of The Sisters of Mercy of the County of Allegheny"—etc.

"SECTION 2. The essential objects of the said corporation shall be the relief and support of sick, destitute and dependent persons, the maintenance of orphans and the care and education of youth; and the houses and grounds of said society occupied for these purposes, and the income used for this support shall be exempt from taxation".

Sections 3 and 4 refer to rights to inherit, titles to realties, etc.

Laws of Pennsylvania—1848, April 8, pp. 397-398.

In 1848, at the invitation of Reverend Hugh Gallagher, the Sisters opened a new school at Loretto, a place of interest in the early Catholic history of Pennsylvania, the center of missionary labors and the lifework of Gallitzin, the "Prince Priest" of Pennsylvania. The community com-

prised four Sisters: Sister M. Augusta Goold, Sister M. Rose Hosteller, Sister M. Lucy McGivern, Sister M. Catharine Wynne, Superior. This foundation marks the beginning of the present Academy, St. Aloysius, Loretto, Pa., and later, 1875, the independent Mother House at Cresson. The poverty of the Holy Family was reflected in the privations recorded of the Sisters' early experiences at Loretto. The Sisters were often left without food and fuel, not due to the neglect of the people, but to the hardships of pioneer days.

In 1853 the Sisters removed to a more spacious building, which was given the name of St. Aloysius' Convent and Academy. Two additions to the Convent were made later, one in 1866, the other in 1868. On account of the distance from the Mother House in Pittsburg, St. Aloysius' was made an independent Community in 1875.

In 1851, Bishop Bernard O'Reilly of the diocese of Hartford applied to Bishop O'Connor in Pittsburg for a colony of Sisters of Mercy to take charge of his school in Providence, Rhode Island. Mother Mary Francis Warde was appointed to direct the work. Her companions were Sister M. Camillus O'Neill, Sister M. Paula Lombard, and Sister M. Johanna Fogerty. This was the first foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in New England.

In the same year, 1851, two Sisters were sent from St. Mary's, Webster Avenue, to open a school for the girls of St. Peter's parish, Anderson Street, Allegheny. School was held in the basement of the Church, and had an enrollment of 100 pupils. For one year the Sister walked to this school every day from the Webster Avenue Convent, a distance of about two miles. In 1852, after the opening of St. Ann's School, Washington and Lockhart Streets, Allegheny, the Sisters teaching at St. Peter's made their home at St. Ann's. Schools were also opened in Wiley Street, Chatham Street, Pittsburg, and in St John's, Bir-

mingham. In Birmingham, South Side, there was also an Orphanage for boys in the care of the Sisters of Mercy.

During the same year 1852, a House of Industry was opened at St. Ann's for homeless girls and immigrants who were taught housework, sewing and fancy needlework.

A notice of this institution in the Catholic Directory of 1856 thus describes its work and aims:

"A new building has been erected for this purpose, in a handsome part of Allegheny City. Single females are received in it who are desirous of living under the protection of the Sisters, though able to support themselves by their own labor, and also to afford young women of good character a shelter, and train them in various branches of industry."

In 1852 at the request of Dr. May, Washington, D. C., and the approval, we presume, of the Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, five Sisters of Mercy left Pittsburg to take charge of a hospital at Washington, D. C. This institution was formerly under the care of the Sisters of Charity; at their withdrawal, the hospital was placed under the management of seculars with unsatisfactory results. The Sisters sent to take charge of the work were Sister de Sales Brown, Sister Mary Angela McGreary, Sister Mary Stephana Ward, Sister Collette O'Connor and Sister Mary Isidore Fisher, Superior. This was the beginning of the work of the Sisters of Mercy in Baltimore Diocese.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Washington Infirmary,* held on the 4th of May, 1857, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved by the Board of Directors that we entertain the highest appreciation of the services of

*The title by which the Washington Hospital was known.

the Sisters of Mercy in the Infirmary, and hereby express to them our entire confidence in their fidelity and attention to every duty during the past year, with our thanks for their interest, more than official, always manifested by them, for the welfare of the patients and property of the institution.

Resolved that the Curator be requested to communicate the above resolution to the Sister Superior.

Albert Thos. Fred'k May,
Curator Wash. Infirmary.¹¹

Later, 1854, an invitation came requesting the Sisters to take charge of St. Peter's parish school in Baltimore. Five Sisters were sent to open this new foundation: Sister M. Neri Bowen, Sister M. Colette O'Connor, Sister M. Ann Rigney and Mother M. Catharine Wynne, Superior. This now became the Mother House of the Sisters of Mercy in the Metropolitan See of Baltimore.

In May, 1853, four Sisters of Mercy opened a school in ¹² Hollidaysburg in charge of Mother Elizabeth Strange, then Mother Assistant of the Community. Her co-workers were Sisters M. Baptista Hearne, Sister M. Regina Brown and Sister M. Marcella McKeown. This school, St. Mary's, opened with an attendance of fifty pupils. The Convent, formerly a hotel, was a two-story brick structure containing nine rooms with a basement and attic. They remained here two years. The distance of school and Convent from the church made its location undesirable, in consequence, a small brick house was purchased in 1855. During the early days at Hollidaysburg, the Sisters suffered much from poor accommodations, extreme cold and an insufficiency of food.

¹¹ *Memoirs of the Pittsburg Sisters of Mercy.* pp. 190, 191.

¹² St. Mary's School was taken in charge by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart in 1908.—See *Records*, December, 1920, p. 316.

In the meantime, the new Academy in Westmoreland County, the Kuhn foundation, at Latrobe, two miles from St. Vincent's, was completed, blessed and placed under the patronage of St. Francis Xavier, June 1846. School was opened in September. In 1852, the number of pupils on record is over seventy. It was now necessary to enlarge the building by an addition of 40 by 80 feet., thus affording new rooms for kitchen, refectory, dormitories and a larger chapel.

In 1855 a tract of land of over 118 Acres, known as the "Boyd farm" adjoining St. Xavier's school property was purchased by Bishop O'Connor. The purpose was to remove there, St. Michael's Seminary. This plan was later abandoned, and the Sisters bought the property in August, 1858 for thirty-five hundred dollars.

In 1855 the Mother House and Novitiate were transferred from Pittsburg to St. Xavier's, Latrobe, and remained here until 1875 when St. Xavier's was cut off from Pittsburg diocese and became the Mother House in the new diocese of Allegheny.

In the fall of 1862, a request came to the Mother House in Pittsburg for Sisters to take charge of the Stanton Hospital, Washington, D. C. Some time between November 26th and December 8th, this hospital was ready for occupancy and eight Sisters were placed in charge of the first detachment of one hundred and thirty sick and wounded soldiers from the front. The Sisters, eight in number, reinforced at different times by new recruits, cared for the disabled men from both North and the South, who were sent to the Stanton Hospital from the fighting line. They remained in charge of this hospital to the close of the war.

On one occasion when Secretary Stanton refused to increase the month's allotment of rations, the matter was brought to the notice of the President who wrote a personal letter authorizing the Sisters to solicit aid:

“To all whom it may concern :

On application of the Sisters of Mercy in charge of the Military Hospital in Washington, furnish such provisions as they desire to purchase and charge the same to the War Department ”.

“ Abraham Lincoln ”

(This letter quoted in the Annals is not dated, but there is no reason to doubt its genuineness).

In 1863, the Sisters in Pittsburg gave their services to the West Penn Hospital which was turned into a Military Hospital by the government. It was used principally for convalescent soldiers who were transported from hospitals near the scene of battle. The Sisters remained at the West Penn Hospital until the war was over and all the patients were either discharged or removed to other hospitals.

Among the many pathetic experiences of the Sisters in Stanton Hospital, one was revived later in the Night School conducted by the Sisters of Mercy twelve years after the war, and is worthy of record. This was the experience of Mother Regina Cosgrave as she used to tell it, and as later it became the theme of the little story “ Wooden Will ” by “ Mercedes ”, Sister M. Antonio Gallagher. The story describes the scene in Stanton Hospital where a wounded soldier lies dying. He repeats the prayers which he learned in his childhood and presses the Sister’s crucifix to his lips. Then comes from the dying man’s lips—“ Get me—some one—from Pittsburg.” When the Sister assured him that she was from Pittsburg, he inquired whether she was from the Convent at the Cathedral, evidently recognizing the habit. The Sister asks the dying man whether she can take a message for him to Pittsburg. He tells her of his wife, just past eighteen, in the Cathedral parish, and of a little boy baby, whom he has never seen : and “ Mary writes me,” he says, “ that the baby has two little fingers on the left hand ”

—"tell her no cutting up of that boy—no matter what they say." The dying man paused—"Lord help"—he gasped as the gray pallor of death spread over his face. They were his last words. The message remained incomplete. Mid the pressure of other cares the details in Pittsburgh were not followed up. The baby with "two little fingers" on the left hand was not identified. Twelve years later, the same Sister was working in the night school in Pittsburgh when one evening there was a sudden commotion as of a struggle at the door and two lads entered bringing between them another boy of about 12 years who resisted vigorously, and finally broke away from his captors. The Sister inquired the cause of the commotion. She was informed by the boys that it was "Wooden Will". "But who is Wooden Will and why will he not come in?" asks Sister. "Sister, he wants to, but he's scared. He says you 'uns is like heaven in here, and he ain't fit, and he hangs around the door every night and we pulled him in to-night to give him a show." The Sister now inquires for the boy's mother. "He ain't got one," was the reply. "Then his father or his friend," asks the Sister. "Father's dead too. Wooden Will ain't got nobody but himself." "This will never do, we must have poor 'Wooden Will' here at school." The Sister promises the boy who will bring Wooden Will to school without hurting him a medal of our Blessed Mother. At the close of the session, two of the boys made a straight line for the door, eager to earn the promised medal. They soon returned carrying their little captive with them, one boy holding the struggling arms, the other, the kicking bare feet. They placed Wooden Will on the floor before the Sister and awaited their reward. The Sister gave each boy a medal, then turned to the little waif who stood before her. She found on inquiry that Wooden Will could say the "Hail Mary" which evidently he had learned from his mother before her death. She discovered

also that the name Wooden Will was acquired from the fact of his sleeping in wood piles and lumber yards. When the Sister asked the little lad to bless himself, he raised his left hand to his forehead, then she noticed for the first time the deformed member, a second little finger on the left hand.

Like a flash the memory returned of the dying soldier in Stanton Hospital, and his description of his little baby, whom he had never seen. Later the boy was fully identified. The confidence of the dying soldier was finally rewarded when the Sisters provided shelter and a home for the little waif and provided for his future, giving him the advantages of school and religious training.

In the West Penn Hospital in Pittsburgh, which the government turned into a military hospital in 1863, a Chapel was fitted up for the use of the Sisters and Catholic soldiers. The Sisters continued the care of wounded and convalescent soldiers in this hospital until the close of the war, in 1865.

Right in the midst of "hard times", which followed the end of the war, 1865, the Sisters were tried by a serious financial loss. In 1868, February 1st, fire broke out at St. Xavier's, Latrobe, and in a short time, the Convent and Academy were in ruins, only the walls were left to tell of the sacrifices of years. Some of the boarders were housed temporarily at the guest house, while others were sheltered by the good people of the neighboring village. The parlor in the priest's house became a temporary chapel for the Sisters. Despite the fact that the insurance was inadequate to meet the then standing debt, the work of rebuilding was begun at once. The structure rose more beautiful than before. April 1st. saw the work far advanced and September 1st., the new Academy was in readiness for the scholastic year. The Convent was not finished until 1874. Meanwhile, the Sisters took up their quarters at the Academy. This necessitated the removal of some of the boarders to St. Aloysius' Academy, Loretto.

On September 24, 1870, at the request of Bishop Mullen, seven Sisters of Mercy, opened a new foundation and established a Mother House for the diocese of Erie in Titusville, Pennsylvania. The parish school of St. Titus was their first charge. It opened with an enrollment of four hundred pupils.

In 1875, the Sisters of Mercy were invited by Right Reverend Bishop O'Hara of Scranton, to open a school in St. Mary's parish, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

The building of old Saint Mary's on Canal Street was fitted up for school use and opened October 11, with an attendance of four hundred pupils, with five Sisters teaching. The attendance soon increased to over five hundred, making it necessary to send two more Sisters from Pittsburgh before Christmas of that year, 1875.

In 1874 a new plan was proposed by Bishop Domenec for the government of the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Pittsburgh. The plan of the Bishop was to divide the Sisterhood in the diocese into five separate Mother Houses, each with its own independent Superior. The Bishop was to retain control over all the local Communities with authority to remove and change individual Sisters, and determine the personnel of each Convent. This is out of harmony with the spirit of corporate unity in any Sisterhood. It is not contemplated in the rule drawn up by Mother McAuley, and approved by the Holy See in 1841. The Sisters, therefore, appealed to the Holy See, protesting the new plan of government. The answer from Rome, which came in 1875, decided that the Sisters were to remain as they had been, governed from one central Mother House in the diocese until the diocese should be divided. In 1876, January, this division of the diocese was finally made, following the request of Bishop Domenec. Allegheny, north of the river, and the counties to the North and East were erected into a separate diocese. This division of the diocese of

Pittsburg cut off the Sisters at Xavier's, Westmoreland County and the Academy at Loretto, Cambria County from the mother House and Novitiate in Pittsburgh. The Sisters were given their choice to remain in the diocese in which they had labored previously, or to pass to the other. A sufficient number of Sisters chose to remain at St. Xavier's, Latrobe and at St. Aloysius', Loretto, now both in the new diocese of Allegheny, to continue the work of the Sisters in these old and loved foundations. The separation, however, was a severe trial, both by reason of added financial burdens to the divided Community, and by reason of the severance of individuals in the Sisterhood long trained to bear the burdens of work, and to share the interests of religion together. It was especially painful for the Sisters remaining in Pittsburg to be cut off from dear old St. Xavier's, where many of the Sisters had made their novitiate, where they were accustomed to make the annual retreat, where they were favored occasionally by a few days of rest during the summer, and where they looked forward to ending their last years of service in peace. A new Mother House was established in the diocese of Allegheny, St. Xavier's, Westmoreland County. This separation, however, was of short duration. In 1877, July, Bishop Domenec resigned the newly formed see and returned to Spain. The diocese of Allegheny now came under the administration of the Bishop of Pittsburg, John Tuigg. In 1889, July, Allegheny, as a distinct diocese was totally suppressed. This suppression brought reunion to the separate communities of the Sisterhood and was welcomed by the Sisters as a financial relief and a boon in the spiritual life.

The Catholic Directory of 1864, records the following Institutions in charge of the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Pittsburgh—

St. Mary's Academy, Webster Street, pupils, 80; St. Xavier's Academy near Latrobe, pupils (number not given)

St. Aloysius' Academy, Loretto, pupils, (number not given); St. Paul's R. C. Orphan Asylum for small boys, near Birmingham, orphans, 40; St. Paul's Orphan Asylum for girls, Pittsburg, orphans, 70. Mercy Hospital and House of Industry. (Number in last two institutions not given).

DAY SCHOOLS

St. Mary's Parochial School, Webster Street, pupils 520; St. Patrick's, Liberty Street, pupils, 300; St. John's, Birmingham, pupils, 80; St. Peter's, Allegheny, pupils, 220; St. Mary's (German), Allegheny, pupils, 300; St. Mary's Hollidaysburg, pupils, 300; St. Mary's, Loretto, pupils, 50. Total (including orphans) 2060.

These numbers show results of twenty years of work in the diocese. With these are to be counted new foundations in Chicago, Hartford, Baltimore, Buffalo, difficulties of four years of war, and the war services of the Sisters.

In 1875 there were 175 Sisters in the diocese and 5000 children enrolled in their schools.

In 1866, St. Bridget's school in Pittsburgh was opened with an enrollment of 150 pupils. Two years later, 1868, the parish school at Latrobe, [Holy family] was opened and was placed under the care of Sisters of Mercy.

During the seventies the following schools were opened: St. Malachy's, Pittsburgh; St. Thomas', Braddock; St. Mary's, Point Marion; St. Agnes', Soho; St. Andrew's, Manchester, now (N. W. Pittsburg). These schools were attended by Sisters living at St. Mary's, Webster Avenue, or St. Anne's, Allegheny. On account of distance or other circumstances, the first three were later relinquished.

* In 1861 a foundation of Sisters of Mercy from Pittsburg were sent to Buffalo to teach school in the Parishes of St. Bridget and Holy Name. Four years previous, the first foundation of the Mercy Sisterhood in Buffalo had come from Rochester. This, however, was shortly after withdrawn.

During the period between 1890-1894, eight new schools were opened by the Sisters.

In 1890 St. Matthew's parochial school, Tyrone, was given in charge of the Sisters of Mercy. In 1891, the following schools were opened: St. Paul's, Butler; Immaculate Conception, Connellsville; St. Aloysius, Dunbar, St. Mary's, Homestead.

During the same year schools were opened in St. Peter's parish, Allegheny City and St. Colman's parish, Turtle Creek.

In January, 1894, the Sisters of Mercy purchased a property on Fifth Avenue, formerly owned by the Ursuline Sisters, now the home of the Mother House, Novitiate and the Academy of Our Lady of Mercy. The total cost, including repairs, furniture, and additional lots, amounted to \$178,450. The Academy was opened in September, 1894.

The Catholic Directory of 1896, makes the following record of the Sisters of Mercy in Pittsburg Diocese:

Sisters in Community, 304; Academies, 3; Parochial Schools, 15; Pupils, 7000; Hospitals, 1; Patients in Hospital, 150; Orphan Asylums, 1; Orphans, 590; Home for Working Girls, 1; Inmates, 60

St. Paul's Orphan Asylum for boys and St. Paul's Orphan Asylum for girls, merged into St. Paul's Asylum, Tannehill Street, 1867. In 1901, the orphans were transferred to Idlewood, Pennsylvania, about six miles outside Pittsburgh. In 1918, the number of Orphans was about 1300. Since the removal of the small children to the old Asylum on Tannehill Street, now in charge of the Franciscan Sisters, the number at Idlewood has been greatly reduced.

In June, 1894, the Novitiate was moved from St. Mary's, Webster Avenue, to Mount Mercy, Fifth Avenue, and remained here until 1900, when it was again transferred to St. Mary's, Webster Avenue.

St. Mary's Commercial High School (two years' course)

was opened, September, 1901, in the building erected for St. Mary's Academy, Corner of Chatham and Webster Avenues. From 1901 to 1913, lectures in branches of commercial, financial, industrial and legal work were given to the pupils by men eminently qualified. In 1913, the original plan for the admission of boys and girls to the High School was changed. Girls only were retained. In 1918, twenty-five parishes were represented in the student body of this High School.

May 1, 1906, work on the new Mother House, Fifth Avenue, was begun. Three years later, 1909, the work was completed and St. Mary's Convent, (Mother House) was ready for occupancy.

In September, 1907, the new Cathedral School, St. Paul's, Craig Street, begun March, 1907, was ready for occupancy. The Sisters of Mercy were invited to take charge. School opened, September 9th, with an enrollment of two hundred and fifty-five pupils (seven grades).

In September of the following year, 1908, the eighth grade was added. To accommodate the steady increase of pupils became a problem. The people were poor and could not afford to send their children to school in another part of the city. The erection of a new school was the solution of the problem. Accordingly, the year 1912 found St. Paul's School No. 2 in course of erection. This new School was opened February 3, 1913 with eighty-five pupils in attendance. The first four grades were kept here, while the larger children attended St. Paul's School No. 1, Craig Street.

In 1913, a High School was opened in the grade school building and continued here until September, 1915, when a new High School building on Craig Street was completed. The first class of ten pupils was graduated, June 13, 1917.

On September 8, 1914, St. Paul's School, McKeesport was opened with an attendance of three hundred eighty-nine children. When ready for occupancy, the total cost of

this new school building, one of the finest and best in the diocese, was \$54,000.

During the epidemic of Influenza, 1918, the Sisters cared for the patients in Mercy Hospital, Pittsburg and in Emergency Hospitals in Natrona, Latrobe, Turtle Creek, and Washington, Pa. The sick were also visited and cared for by the Sisters in their own home in the city and surrounding towns.

St. Mary's Convent, Mt. Mercy, 3333 Fifth Avenue, is the Mother House and Novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy in the diocese of Pittsburgh. In the Community at the present time (1921) are 394 Professed Sisters; 45 Novices and 12 Postulants. The following Institutions are under their care:

	Teachers		Pupils
	Rel.	Lay	
St. Mary's Normal Training	—	—	—
School for Religious (Novitiate)	—	—	—
Affiliated to Catholic University, Washington, D. C.			
Academy of Our Lady of Mercy 3333 Fifth Avenue	18	5	255
Affiliated to Catholic University, Washington, D. C.			
St. Mary Commercial High School for Girls, 700 Webster Avenue	8	5	166
St. Paul's Cathedral School			
Elem.			735)
(Elem. and Par. High School), Craig Street ...	14	5)
H. S.			73)
St. Paul's Cathedral School No. 2, Parkview Avenue	2	2	194
St. Agnes', 5th Ave. & Robinson St.	13	2	612
St. Bridget's, Wylie Avenue	8		373
Epiphany, Washington & Epiphany Sts.	16		1044
St. Mary's (Elementary and Parish High School), 46th Street	17	3	875
Working Girls' Home, 13 Tunnel Street			
Working girls			80
St. Paul's R. C. Orphan Asylum, Idlewood, Pa.			
Boys and girls			813
St. Patrick's, 17th St. & Liberty Ave.	10		260
St. Francis Xavier, California Avenue	5	1	310
St. Peter's	15		905

OUTSIDE OF CITY.

Butler, St. Paul's	10		500
Butler, St. Peter's (German)	8		400
Glassport, St. Cecilia's	7		245
Latrobe, Holy Family	11		477
McKeesport: St. Peter's			
(Elem.; Par. H. S.)	18	5	805
St. Pius V			
(Elem.; Par. H. S.)	12	3	430
Turtle Creek, St. Coleman's			
(Elem.; Par. H. S.)	10	4	648
Washington, Pa., Immaculate Conception,			
Elem.			504)
(Elem.; Par. H. S.)	12	3)
H. S.			33)
Beatty, St. Xavier's Academy			
Affl. Cath. Univ.			
Affl. Cath. Univ. and approved by State Department			
of Education.			
H. S.			100)
(H. S.; Comm. H. S.)	8	3)
Comm. H. S.			15)
Total number of teachers	222	41	
Total number of pupils			9959

Mercy Hospital, Pride & Locust Sts. In this institution there are at the present time (1921), 49 Sisters. Average number of Patients during the year, 8115, dispensary Patients, 6369. Nurses' Training School, Pupils 140; male Nurses, 11.

The number of patients treated in Mercy Hospital from its foundation, 1848 to 1860 is 2209. From 1861 to 1890 there is a lapse in the records not now available. Leaving out this gap of thirty years, the total number of patients, 1848 to 1860, and again 1890 to 1920 is 137293.¹⁹

(Signed) SISTER MARY EULALIA, O. M.

Saint Mary's High School, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

¹⁹ It would be interesting and important to know the actual number, in this total, of "charity patients," or patients treated free of charge. This number too is at present not at our command.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE UNITED STATES

1806 to 1815

FROM August 16, 1773, until August 7, 1814, the Society of Jesus was outlawed by the Church of God. The execution of the fatal order of Clement XIV was left to the individual Bishops throughout the world. With the exception of Prussia and Russia, where the sovereigns refused to destroy the Society, confiscation and suppression were carried out to the letter. The English ex-Jesuits had obtained in 1778, papal sanction by the Brief *Catholicici Praesules* for their Academy at Liège where they remained until 1794, when the masters and scholars migrated to Stonyhurst.¹ The Liège School was the last oasis in an educational desert created by Bourbon hatred and papal acquiescence. Its continuance under ex-Jesuit control is one of the remarkable pages in Jesuit history. Most of the American clergy—all Jesuits in 1773—had, like Bishop Carroll, passed through Liège to their ordination and final profession. The same enmity which left no stone unturned to suppress the remnant of the Society in White Russia, was in evidence as the English Academy at Liège progressed. It is not difficult to surmise what would have been the ultimate condition of the Society today, had not the Suppression reacted upon the very courts that had so insolently demanded it from the Holy See.

The Interim (1773-1814) is synchronous with the collapse of Bourbonism in Europe. Throughout the world, during

¹Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus, etc., Documents*, vol. i, part ii, p. 683, note 33.

these forty years of Suppression, the members of the Society looked to the White Russian Province as a link with their great past, in case the future should warrant the restoration of the Society; and foremost among those of the Society who were determined to profit by every advantage were the English ex-Jesuits. After their migration to Stonyhurst, the Abbé de Broglie, representing the Paccarnarists, came to London, in 1797, for the purpose of urging the English ex-Jesuits to join the new union. Among those who became members of this group was Father Charles Forrester, who had been present at Carroll's consecration.² The movement met a strong opponent in Carroll's life-long friend, Father Charles Plowden, who preached his consecration sermon. "There was much to recommend a junction between the ex-Jesuits and the new society," writes Ward, "their anomalous position would have come to an end, and they would have found themselves members of an Order of similar aims and rules resembling those to which they had been so long voluntarily adhering."³ The English ex-Jesuits wisely refrained from taking part in Abbé de Broglie's project, for in 1801, Pius VII formally approved by the Brief *Catholicae Fidei* the existence of the Society of Jesus in Russia. On May 27, 1803, the English ex-Jesuits succeeded in obtaining oral permission from the same pontiff for the aggregation to the Russian Province.⁴ Father Gruber, the General, appointed Father Marmaduke Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College, Superior of the affiliated English Jesuits. All that was asked of the

² Forrester to Carroll, Lulworth, May 6, 1803 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 3-08.)

³ Ward, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, vol. i, pp. 208-209. London, 1911.

⁴ Plowden to Carroll, London, July 19, 1803. Such an application had been made and the English ex-Jesuits expected permission to proceed as they desired in the matter (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, case 6-Q3).

former members of the Society was to perform a spiritual retreat and to renew their vows. Father Stone's authority was indeed based upon the celebrated *vivae vocis oraculum*, understood to have been granted by Pius VII to Father Gruber's agent in Rome, Father Angelioni. Bishop Milner tells us in a letter to Archbishop Troy (February 27, 1805) that "my friend, Charles Plowden stood out for a time, saying that without a public instrument under the Pope's hand, it might be disavowed and overturned in a moment. At length, however, he complied and accordingly pronounced his vows on August 15, 1804."⁵ A regular novitiate was opened at Hodder, near Stonyhurst, in a house given to the Society by Mr. Weldon, and Father Charles Plowden became first Master of Novices. Henceforth they were able to live as Jesuits, although the permission granted by Pius VII was of a private nature and was to be kept secret. Even Cardinal Borgia, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which was the administrative court for England and America, was not told of this partial restoration.

It was impossible, however, to keep the matter a secret, and Cardinal Borgia wrote rather vehemently to Bishop Douglass, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, on December 3, 1803, protesting against any recognition of the Jesuits in England. He requested him to notify confidentially the other Vicars-Apostolic that the Society existed only within the confines of Russia, and then only because the Holy See was powerless before the Empress Catherine who protected the Jesuits. On March 17, 1804, the Cardinal Prefect wrote in the same vein to Bishop Milner. Cardinal Borgia acknowledged that he had become aware of the general opinion that Pius VII had restored the Society and that houses might be begun wherever a sufficient group of Jesuits might be gathered. He called Bishop Milner's at-

⁵ Cited by Ward, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 210. (From the *Archiepiscopal Archives of Dublin*.)

tention to the fact that the permission granted by the Holy See on March 7, 1801, was "intra Russiaci Imperii fines dumtaxat et non extra." Wherefore, the General of the Society had no right to revive the Society outside the Russian frontiers and likewise had no right to aggregate those living in other countries to the remnant existing in Russia. The Cardinal-Prefect then added in no unmistakable terms that the *vivae vocis oraculum* was false. Bishop Milner was warned not to allow the ex-Jesuits of England to affiliate themselves to Russia, but to consider them as secular diocesan priests.⁶ Later in 1804, Bishop Gibson had written to Father Stone, giving him the message contained in Borgia's letter, but the English Provincial was too well acquainted with the actual position of the Society in the eyes of the Holy See to be misled by Borgia, who was an acknowledged opponent of the Society. Father Stone stood firmly upon the permission granted in the *vivae vocis oraculum*, "for he had received repeated assurances from the Father-General that the Holy Father had approved all that the English Jesuits had so far done, and he was aware that the Holy Father might have reasons for not communicating his will even to Propaganda."⁷

In spite, therefore, of Cardinal Borgia's hostility, the English Jesuits continued with their work at Stonyhurst and at Hodder. There were continual difficulties for the next twenty-five years, not the least of which was the fact that the presence of the Society of Jesus in England was made an obstacle to Catholic Emancipation by the antagonists of that measure.

The English Jesuits did not receive the full benefit of the Bull of Restoration of 1814 until January 1, 1829,

⁶ From the *Birmingham Diocesan Archives*. The original Latin letter will be found in Ward, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 287-288.

⁷ Pollen, *An Unobserved Centenary*, in the *Month*, May, 1910, p. 361.

when Leo XII declared it to have force in England. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, which received the royal assent on April 13, 1829, contained a penal clause against the existence of the Jesuits in England, but it was never enforced. "The sons of the Society in England," writes Father Pollen, "probably suffered less under the Suppression than did the Jesuits of any other country in Europe. In England, the Society had always been remarkably popular, and the proportion of the Jesuits in the total number of the clergy had always been unusually high."⁸ There were strong adhesive forces active among the Fathers in England as well as in the United States during the Interim, and the English Jesuits were the first, the American Jesuits the second, to request aggregation with Russia. Both branches of the Society were to be allowed to reorganize on the old lines.

The history of the English Jesuits during this period (1773-1814) is an important background for the study of the Restoration of the Society in the United States. Every aspect of the Interim in England had its direct reaction upon the ex-Jesuits in America. Father John Carroll was one of the very few English-speaking Jesuits who were at Rome during the period immediately preceding the Suppression. When, on January 23, 1772, he wrote from Rome to Father Ellerker, S. J., one of the English professors at Liège, that "our catastrophe is near at hand, if we must trust to present appearances and the talk of Rome", he knew that the Society was doomed; and his letters of this period show how poignant was his grief at being obliged to hide his identity in Rome, even when traveling with so prominent a person as Lord Stourton's son. John Carroll never forgot those days of anguish at the centre of Christendom, and that fact must be remembered when in later

⁸ Pollen, *l. c.*, p. 362.

years, as Bishop of Baltimore, he apparently showed reluctance at the prospect of restoring the Society.

When Bishop Challoner (October 6, 1773) forwarded to America the Brief of Suppression, the Jesuits here submissively signed and returned the document which destroyed not only their solidarity but also placed the ban of the Church upon that sublime religious ideal for which they had sacrificed their home ties and their fortunes and by which they had regulated their lives from youth to manhood and, in most cases, to old age. There was no Vicar-Apostolic around whom they could rally for safety, as their brethren in England were able to do; and only upon the uncertain authority which remained to their veteran leader, John Lewis, could they base their future activities; but the thought and the spirit which dominated these men, from 1773 onwards, was the restoration of the Society, at least in their own land of America. In spite of the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), they managed to keep in touch with the former English Jesuits, and every step made towards the reorganization of the Society in England had its corresponding effect upon the hopes of the Americans.

The decree of Suppression allowed the ex-Jesuits who submitted, the privilege of remaining in the parishes where they were, but under the jurisdiction of the local bishops. This no doubt amused the despoiled Americans, for there were no resident priests in the country, except ex-Jesuits, and no bishops nearer than London, Quebec, or Santiago de Cuba.* That they felt the injustice of the "Ganganelli Brief" keenly is only too patent to him who reads the correspondence of the years 1773-1806. The disturbed con-

* "Ma che cosa si farà con quelli che vivono nell'America, per così dire, in un altro mondo senza aver tra loro nè Vescovo, nemmeno un Prete, che sia di un ordine diverso del loro."—Challoner to Stonor, London, September 14, 1773, quoted by Hughes, *op. cit.*, *Documents*, vol. i, part ii, p. 604.

dition of the American colonies during the War for American Independence afforded little chance for meetings of any sort, and the main endeavor of the American ex-Jesuits was to establish regulations for the perpetuation of the laborers in the vineyard here. Occasionally rumors reached them from England that Propaganda was busy planning the confiscation of all the old Jesuit estates, and Carroll's attitude to which reference has already been made, must have put spirit into his English brethren when his letter of September 26, 1783, was read by Plowden to the members of the Society in England. Carroll's utterance on this occasion is the keynote to his whole life as priest, Prefect-Apostolic, Bishop and Archbishop, for he formally declared that "foreign temporal jurisdiction will never be tolerated here" in America.

The earliest voiced declaration that the American Fathers wanted the Society restored in the United States is to be found in the resolution of the First General Chapter of the Clergy at White Marsh, under date of November 6, 1783:

The Chapter declare for themselves, and as far as they can for their constituents, that they will to the best of their power promote and effect an absolute and entire restoration to the Society of Jesus, if it should please Almighty God to re-establish it in this country, of all property belonging to it; and, if any person, who has done good and faithful service to religion in this country, should not re-enter the Society so re-established, he is nevertheless to receive a comfortable maintenance whilst he continues to render the same services, and to be provided for as others in old age or infirmity.¹⁰

This resolution embodies the spirit which ruled the ex-Jesuits here until the American restoration came in 1806. And so thoroughly did they believe in the nearness of such an event that they began organizing at once into a Clergy

¹⁰ Hughes, *op. cit.*, *Documents*, vol. i, part ii, p. 628.

Corporation for the purpose of preserving the property of the Society intact for that *magna dies* when they would meet again under the standard of Ignatius Loyola. They foresaw that encroachment on these property rights might arise from two sources: first, from the clerical "newcomers" into the country; and secondly from the person invested with spiritual jurisdiction in this country. Without a novitiate—and one was impossible to a non-existent religious Order—their own membership was doomed to constant losses by death; priests from foreign lands would undoubtedly come with their flocks to this country and soon these "newcomers" would outnumber the older men. The properties, while not important in size or in value, were not considered by the ex-Jesuits as belonging to themselves personally or collectively: they were pious funds and pious donations of lands and of houses for the support of religion in the American Missions, and as such the rigorous tenets of Canon Law governed their usage and their sale. In spite of all that has been written and published to the contrary, it is impossible to prove that the ex-Jesuits were ever recreant to this trust. Difficulties did arise, after Carroll and his successor Neale went to their graves, but through the whole controversy in Maréchal's day, the problem at issue was not objectively a personal one but one to be adjudged by canonical procedure. They showed no hesitancy in accepting the "newcomers," even though amongst them there were some to be found who shared the popular European satisfaction in the suppression of the Society. The Clergy Corporation was a protective association not for the ex-Jesuits, but for these estates which to them were sacred, in origin as well as in destination. Every newcomer accepted by Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic was eligible for membership in the Corporation, providing he submitted to these wise and salutary regulations. As far as the second danger was concerned, namely from the person who would be appointed

over the American Church, in whatever capacity, they saw no difficulty, if he was one of their own members; but as superior (Prefect-Apostolic, Vicar-Apostolic, or Bishop) he was to have no power "over or in the temporal property of the Clergy." Carroll's appointment as Prefect-Apostolic was the beginning of a more compact ecclesiastical organization, but it is very clear from the proceedings of the other General Chapters that, until the American priests were certain of the extraordinary and unusual privilege of electing a bishop for the United States, a prelate with ordinary jurisdiction was not welcome. When John Carroll was elected by them as their first Bishop, one of his earliest acts (May 26, 1790) was to sign a declaration to the effect that the See of Baltimore would have no rights accruing to it from the former Jesuit estates. Again must this firm stand be interpreted as a protective measure with the same end in view. Carroll's declaration is as follows:

To prevent any disagreement or contention hereafter between the Bishop of Baltimore and his Clergy, or any of them, in consequence of any words contained in his Holiness's brief for erecting the See of Baltimore &c.; I hereby declare that I do not conceive myself entitled by the said brief to claim any right of interference in the management of those estates in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which were heretofore applied to the maintenance of the Jesuit missionaries; and since their extinction, to the ex-Jesuits, and other Clergymen admitted to partake of their labor, in serving the Congregations, which were before served by the Jesuits.¹¹

Under this private arrangement Bishop Carroll strove to live until his death, in 1815. He received annually the support voted in his favor at the General Chapter of 1789, and little difficulty arose on this score.

Meanwhile, the reorganization of the Society of Jesus

¹¹ Cited by Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 699.

in the United States was not lost to sight. Father Carroll's correspondence on the subject with the English ex-Jesuits grows in volume as the years pass. Evidently, in reply to one of his letters, Father Thomas Talbot, the Procurator of the dissolved English Province of the Society, wrote to Carroll, from London, on September 21, 1784, stating that, living as the Americans did, in "a free State, independent of foreign potentates and cabals, where liberty of conscience is not controlled, where Catholicity was first planted by the Jesuits, has hitherto been nursed by the Jesuits and solely brought by them to the perfection it now enjoys," it should be an easy matter for the former members of the Society in the United States to affiliate themselves with the Jesuit Province in White Russia, which was still unsuppressed, and over which Father Gruber, the Father-General presided. If this were done, and Father Talbot hopes there was none amongst the Americans "who would not fly to his colours with eagerness," many European Jesuits, and especially those in England, "would flock to you and would think themselves happy to end their career under the same banner they began it." When the dissension arose at the Second General Chapter (1786) over the resolution to establish a school "for the education of youth and the perpetuity of the body of clergy in this country," Father Carroll argued in reply that such a school would certainly become "a nursery from whence postulants can alone be expected," and in the same document we find the following expression of sentiment regarding the Society of Jesus:

We must bring to your minds that doleful era of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, when we were torn from our dear Mother, whom we saw sacrificed before our eyes to the designs permitted by Divine Providence. In consequence of this we were left without father, without mother, oppressed with grief, uncertain of our future destiny. In these melan-

choly circumstances, a formula of subscription to episcopal government was presented to us from our Ordinary, the Bishop of London, who was directed by the Holy See to do the same.¹²

That the former members of the Society in America were discussing the Russian affiliation proposals as early as Carroll's appointment as Prefect-Apostolic is evident from a letter of Father Farmer to Carroll, dated Philadelphia, August 7, 1785:

What concerns our union with the Jesuits of Russia, tho' for my private satisfaction I wish it may be affected; yet does it seem to me, that the body of our Clergy here in General would not reap benefit by the union. First it is not likely that we could draw thence any supplies. 2ndly it would not joyn or link us better together unless they were all satisfyd and had or reassumed the Spirit of the Society. 3rdly, as it seems, supplies must ex parte come from secular or other religious clergy; our particular union would create a jealousy. For these reasons I keep in my particular desire of the Union; tho' I am pretty confident that Providence had not brought about such a strange establishment, as is that of the Society in Russia, did it not mean to continue it.¹³

Confiscation of the ex-Jesuit estates was being mooted about that time by some of the Maryland politicians, as we learn in Carroll's letter to Antonelli, of March 13, 1786; and in order to avoid such an eventuality, the American

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 605. Carroll was long familiar with the proposal to unite with the Russians. There is extant a letter to this effect from one of the Russian Jesuits to Carroll, dated October 14, 1783, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-V8. That Carroll was fully aware of the English ex-Jesuit sentiment for the Russian affiliation is evident from Plowden's letters of March 29, and June 28, 1786, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 6-J10-11.

¹³ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, case 6-P11; printed in the *Records* (American Catholic Historical Society), vol. xix, pp. 389-390.

Clergy Corporation made every effort to secure a legal status before the State. Many objections were raised against granting the Corporation a Charter, but it finally passed the Assembly on December 23, 1792.¹⁴

An interesting incident occurred at this time. While Carroll was in Rome (1772-3), he made an unsuccessful attempt to meet Father John Thorpe, who became later his agent at Propaganda. Father Thorpe seems to have been one of the party of Jesuits who issued at the time of the election of Clement XIV a libellous attack on that Pope under the title *De Simoniaca Electione*. After the Suppression, in a series of letters to Father Charles Plowden, Thorpe described the conditions of Rome, and he embodied some of the stories anent the Pope. In fine, the letters give a complete and intimate sketch of Ganganelli's life. These letters, it is generally believed, were indiscreetly published by Father Plowden as *A Candid and Impartial Sketch of the Life and Government of Pope Clement XIV* (London, 1785). The work was deemed so scandalous that it was suppressed, and Father Thorpe was put on parole not to leave Rome for three months. Bishop Milner, Mr. Weld, Lord Arundell, Rev. Thomas Bellamy, Father Charles Cordell and others wrote against the book. It is probable that the American Jesuits never saw the book, but there was another, written by Father Plowden, which had considerable influence upon their plans for aggregating themselves to Russia. This was the Mss. *Account of the Preservation and Actual State of the Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire Dominion*,¹⁵ to which Carroll refers in his letter of July 11, 1786: "I found your two most acceptable favours . . . and at the same time your invaluable ms. account of the remnant of the Society, miraculously preserved,

¹⁴ Hughes, *l. c.*, pp. 635, 722.

¹⁵ Printed in *Dolman's Magazine*, vol. v (1846-1847); cf. Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics*, vol. v, p. 323-324.

as it seems, to be the seed of a future generation. I have read it with great eagerness and infinite pleasure. . . .”¹⁶ Again, on November 13, 1786, he speaks of Plowden’s “most valuable Ms. which may be called the history of a providential deliverance of the Society from utter destruction.”¹⁷ The Ms. was passed from hand to hand among the American Fathers, and while it seems to have had no appreciable effect in stimulating their desire actually to join the Russian Province, it undoubtedly had an influence in their purpose to reestablish themselves as members of the suppressed Society.

Two years later (April 25, 1788), thirteen of the American ex-Jesuits issued a circular, probably the composition of Leonard Neale, calling upon all the “Reverend Gentlemen formerly of the Society of Jesus in Maryland and Pennsylvania” to attend a meeting at St. Thomas’ Manor, on the Monday following the third Sunday of July, when measures were to be adopted for the restoration of the Jesuits in America:

Most Esteemed and Reverend Brethren,

It is with the great distress of mind that we consider the various disturbances, which have agitated us in this part of the world, since the destruction of the Society of Jesus. Upon our exclusion from that happy government, we sincerely endeavoured to obviate every inconvenience by substituting another form of government, proportioned, as nearly as we could judge, to the circumstances in which we found ourselves. But it seems that this established form has not produced that harmony and regularity, without which all is thrown into confusion, and we [*are*] compelled to surrender the idea of ever enjoying true comfort or happiness amidst the fatigues of our laborious Mission. This uncomfortable prospect naturally revives the memory of our former feelings

¹⁶ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 683.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 683.

and ideas. Our eager thoughts, by an uncontrollable bias, fix upon our dear and ancient Mother the Society, whilst, by a retrospective glance, we view the perfection of her unparalleled form of government, which ever preserved the most perfect union among her members, and, by her influencing energy filled all with a happiness that sweetened their labours, and afforded solid comfort in difficulties and distress. Yes, Revd. Gentlemen, we conceive this government of the Society to be the only one that can procure us the happiness our hearts are in search after. We have felt her controul, we have experienced her influence, which have stamped impressions on our souls not to be erased. In pursuit of this our object, we will not, we cannot loose sight of a reunion with our darling Mother, till such time as Providence shall frustrate our active endeavours, and point out this impossibility. We have therefore come to a full determination of applying for this reunion, a determination not to be baffled by any attempts. We most sincerely wish for the unanimous concurrence of all our Brethren in this important affair. However, all being free, we reflect on none. We solicit none to subscribe to this determination, but such as are of the sentiments with ourselves.¹⁸

The names signed to this remarkable expression of belief in the future of the Society were: Walton, Matthews, Boarman (John), Jenkins, Pile, Neale (Leonard,) Roels, Doyne, Boone, Boarman (Sylvester), Beeston, Graessl, and Molyneux. John Carroll's name is not among these, and that apparently for two reasons. The first no doubt had to do with his post as Prefect-Apostolic. As head of the American Church, his immediate superior was the Cardinal-Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Sacred Congregation was certainly then not in favor of the restoration of the Jesuits. Even later, Pius VII, for example, did not announce to Propaganda the Restoration in 1814.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 683-684.

¹⁹ Ward, *Eve etc.*, vol. i, p. 210; cf. Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 817.

The second reason is that Carroll had begun to waver in his belief that the Society in the United States was capable of restoration. About the time of the circular letter, he wrote to Father Beeston, one of its signers, at Philadelphia (March 22, 1788): "I considered farther that it is very uncertain how long the spirit of the Society will be kept alive, at least in this country. I am afraid not much longer than they live who have been trained under its discipline."²⁰ Perhaps, a third reason might be added: the attacks being made upon him by Fathers Poterie and Smyth in their publications, in which they alleged that he showed favoritism towards the old members of the Society. In two letters to Charles Plowden at this time, Carroll gives voice to his fear of being deluded in the restoration. On May 8, 1789, he says: "O poor Jesuits! when shall we have you again? You communicated in your last some dubious information concerning them. I have been so often the dupe of my hopes, that I am becoming very incredulous to reports of any favourable turn in their affairs."²¹ Again, on July 12, 1789, he writes: "It is singular enough, that some of our own friends are blaming me for being too irresolute or indifferent, for not adopting their most intemperate councils with respect to restoring the Society; whilst, on the other hand, Smyth, the Abbé [*Poterie*] and others, are accusing me of sacrificing to this intention the good of religion."²²

We do not know what the results of the July, 1788, meeting were, but they could not have been very encouraging, for no mention of the restoration is made in the Proceedings of the Third General Chapter of the Clergy, held at White-

²⁰ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 616. It is about this time that Carroll's correspondence with Father Strickland on the question of the aggregation to Russia begins. These letters are in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-A5, and Case 9-K4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 688.

²² *Ibid.*

marsh, May 11-18, 1789. The principal questions at issue in that meeting were the proposed bishopric for the United States and the incorporation of the ex-Jesuit estates. Carroll himself was preoccupied with the thought of his election to the episcopate by his fellow priests, and also with the serious troubles some of the foreign priests in the country were causing. He gives us also a hint for the proper understanding of his attitude on the question of restoring the Society in a letter to Plowden thanking him for congratulations on his election to the See of Baltimore: ". . . Your condolence would have suited better the situation of my mind; every day furnishes me with new reflections, and almost every day produces new events, to alarm my conscience, and excite fresh solicitude at the prospect before me. You cannot conceive the trouble I suffer already, and still greater which I foresee, from the medley of clerical characters coming from different quarters and various educations, and seeking employment here. I cannot avoid employing some of them, and they begin soon to create disturbance. As soon as this happens, they proceed to bring in Jesuitism, and to suggest that everything is calculated by me for its restoration; and that I sacrifice the real interests of religion to the chimerical project of reviving it." ²³

Occasionally letters arrived from England asking for information on the progress being made in the aggregation of the American ex-Jesuits to the Russian Province. The English members of the suppressed Society could not understand why the Americans were not more prompt, living in a land where there could be no opposition on the part of the government.

Father Carroll was now Bishop-elect of the See of Baltimore, and therefore bound by even stronger ties to the

²³ Carroll to Plowden, Baltimore, October 23, 1789, printed in Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 688.

Sacred Congregation. He foresaw that as chief shepherd he would be forced sooner or later to take action on the restoration being planned by his former brethren in the Society. His views on this delicate matter on the eve of his departure for London are in a letter, dated March 16, 1790 to Plowden: "My Brethern here have been deluding themselves, for a long time, with ideas of a restoration, founded on what appeared to me very shallow support indeed. But at present I cannot help thinking, that the late convulsions in Europe, when traced to their real sources, must discover to every thinking mind the necessity of a virtuous education, and of encouraging men, capable of conducting the rising generation through all the degrees of moral, religious and literary improvement. On whom then can the governing powers turn their eyes, but on those who are trained under the discipline of the Society? A few seminaries or universities may be indeed supplied with excellent instructors without recurring to them. But numerous professors, sufficient to fill the chairs of every considerable town, cannot be formed and held to their duty, except it be in a body, constituted as the Society. . . ." ²⁴

During his stay in London, it was but logical that he would do his utmost to set aside the charge made by Smyth that he favored the ex-Jesuits in the selection for parishes. This charge was a threadbare one to the English Jesuits and it was difficult for Carroll to arouse their interest. Dr. Carroll reached London in stirring times. Bishop James Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, died at Hammersmith, January 26, 1790, and London for the first time in a century was without a bishop. "While Bishop Talbot lay dying, Catholic England was working itself up into a ferment over the question of the Oath, nor was even a temporary cessation deemed necessary out of respect for

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 682.

his memory when he died.”²⁵ It was not until the week following Carroll’s consecration that London received its Bishop in the person of the Rt. Rev. John Douglass. The Oath of Allegiance had been the cause of dissension, controversy, schism and martyrdom since the days of Elizabeth, and during the summer of 1790, a war of pamphlets about it was being carried on by the two factions among the Catholics. Carroll’s friend, Charles Plowden, was in the thick of the fight, and it must have been a novel experience for America’s first Bishop to follow the actions of the Catholic Committee in its determined stand against accepting Bishop-elect Douglass. The opposition lasted until the end of the year, but finally the new Bishop-elect won his way to the hearts of the gentlemen of the Committee, and on December 19, 1790, Bishop Douglass was consecrated at the chapel at Lulworth Castle, by Bishop Walmesley, the consecrator of Bishop Carroll. Charles Plowden preached also at the consecration of Bishop Douglass, as he had done at Lulworth on August 15, when Dr. Carroll was consecrated. The summer of 1790 in London brought Dr. Carroll into personal touch with all the Catholic leaders, lay and cleric, of England, and as a consequence, his correspondence with Plowden down to 1815 contains many references to the Oath and the Catholic Relief Bill.

On September 2, 1790, he wrote from “King’s Street, London,” to Father Plowden as follows:

My dear Sir

Many thanks for yours of Aug. 31st., and for your solicitude that I should clear myself to Cardl. Antonelli from the calumnies of Smyth—I am not certain, that the Cardl has ever heard of Smyth’s pamphlet; I rather suspect, that La Poterie has caused his forgeries to fall into the Cardl’s

²⁵ Ward, *Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England*, vol. i, p. 201, London, 1909.

hands. Coghlan brought me today some of that vile Man's Performances; not against me: but some that he foolishly published concerning himself, on his first coming to Boston and a sort of pastoral instruction, which he had the temerity and folly to publish there before the Lent of 1788. I shall give Cardl. Antonelli very satisfactory reasons for coming to England. Neither the president of Doway, nor Mr. Wm. Meynell are yet come to town; nor even Mr. Thos. Meynell. There is great inconsistency in the objections, which some make, not to the truth of your doctrine respecting the Pope's Infallibility, but the policy of asserting it in print at this time. They say with Mr. Reeve, that the English generally understand, that by infallibility we mean to assert the Pope's infallible prerogative in all orders he issues, or facts which he asserts. Now if this be true, where is the impolicy of your asserting that the pope has no such infallibility; but only in doctrinal points. To obviate this observation, which I made yesterday to Mr. Chs. Butler, he said, contrary to your other opponents, that the English not only object to the pope's infallibility in giving orders stating facts (an infallibility asserted by no one) but likewise consider his doctrinal infallibility as a pernicious tenet and dangerous to civil government. I have a letter from the Nuncio at Paris, and another from Monsgr. Emery, Superior Genl. of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. They both solicit my passage to Paris to confer with some gentlemen of the Seminary, who wish to employ in the rearing of young clergymen in America, that experience, which is made useless by the revolution in their own country. They offer to bestow their services gratis. We certainly are not ripe for a seminary: it would take some years before we shall have scholars far enough advanced to profit by this generous offer. I shall hear from them in answer to the letter I shall send tomorrow. On Saturday, I propose going to Bury for two days. Mr. Talbot says, I must go to secure a handsome donation to the academy which will be bestowed on no other condition. This consideration apart, how much more pleasure would I have in visiting Lullworth?

Our academy, from its situation, would probably be conspicuous. The great object is, to procure for it an eminent and good Master. My letters from America, as well as the public prints inform me that the district, now settled for the future capital of the United States and permanent residence of Congress, is on Potowmack river. Commissioners under the direction of the President are to determine the particular spot, in a district of about 50 miles, lying on that river. The knowledge, I have of the country, makes me confident, it will be either at Georgetown, or what would answer better for our school, within four miles of it.

My poor Nephew, Danl. Carroll, whom you knew, is dead; pray for him. I know not when I shall be able to execute my promise relative to your book on infallibility.²⁶ Interruptions of company, letters, long dinners, etc., take up my whole time. I cannot yet determine the time of my repeating my visit to you, or whether I can repeat it at all. Affairs at Boston demand my return to America—I have received from the two priests there mutual charges and recriminations. I let Coghlan copy the preamble of the bull—I have marked a passage or two, which I would have omitted: the 1st. is, that a state cannot be safe, in which new and vigorous doctrines are permitted to range (which is contrary to the maxim of our policy and our experience in America): the other is *pro hac vice tantum*; a clause I wish to keep from the knowledge and notice of our rulers, and which will probably be altered. I think there is in the latter part another clause of the same import.

When I write next to Lullworth, I shall presume that Mr. Weld is returned, and I shall do myself the pleasure of acknowledging his great politeness and still greater kindness.²⁷

²⁶ *Considerations on the Modern Opinion of the Fallibility of the Holy See in the Decision of Dogmatical Questions*. London, 1790.

²⁷ The Carroll-Plowden correspondence and other Maryland papers in the *Stonyhurst Archives* were copied for the writer by the eminent Jesuit historian, Father John Hungerford Pollen. They are not catalogued and are referred to in these pages simply as *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

There is no mention of restoration plans in this letter, but in that of September 7, 1790, to the same correspondent, he says: "I received a letter last night from our worthy Mr. Francis Neale, who continues in his old stile to urge the re-establishment in spite of every prudential reason against the attempt, till Divine Providence opens a better prospect."²⁸ A week later, he informed Plowden of the contents of Thorpe's letter from Rome (August 21, 1790), since "it chiefly turns on the subject of Cardinal Antonelli being haunted with the fears of the revival of the Society in America. I think it is providential that his alarms have been raised since the issuing of the bulls for erecting the See of Baltimore. I suspect otherwise it would have been refused. I shall now write to the Cardinal in plain language on the subject."²⁹ Cardinal Antonelli's fear was aroused by the calumnies of Fathers Poterie and Smyth, and it is for this reason that Carroll tells the head of the Sacred Congregation (Sept. 27, 1790) that since his appointment as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States (1784) he had commissioned thirty priests for the work of the American missions; seven of these only were ex-Jesuits, and twenty-three non-Jesuits.³⁰

The financial affairs of the Society, before the Suppression were regulated for England and the American colonies through the English Provincial's hands, and while in London, Father Strickland and Bishop Carroll signed a joint memorandum adjusting their mutual claims.³¹

Apart from his interest in the Catholic Committee's activities Bishop Carroll found his time rather well taken up in writing appeals to wealthy Catholic noblemen of England

²⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

²⁹ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 688.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Propaganda Archives, Scrittura originali*, vol. 893 (not folioed).

for monetary assistance for his diocese,²² and with the proposal made to him by Father Nagot regarding the foundation of the Seminary in Baltimore. On his return to the United States, the two educational projects—Georgetown and St. Mary's Seminary—gave him little opportunity to be troubled over the revival of the Society, and with the grant of the charter for the Corporation (December, 1792), he no doubt felt that the old Jesuit properties would be sufficiently protected without a restoration. The next General Chapter, held at Whitmarsh (November 7, 1792) was attended by twenty-two priests, four of whom were non-Jesuits, but nothing seems to have been done in the matter of the restoration. The main resolutions passed refer to the support of Georgetown and the Seminary. Subsequent meetings of the Select Body of the Clergy, which directed the use of the ex-Jesuit estates, and the correspondence between Rome and Baltimore, were silent on the question of the Society's revival until 1795, when apparently the Select Board passed a formal resolution to the effect that the Holy See was to be asked to reestablish the Society of Jesus in the United States. Among the *Shea Transcripts* at Georgetown there is a copy of an "imperfect manuscript of Dr. Carroll on the Restoration of the Society of Jesus" in which Bishop Carroll says: "I have devoted much time to the consideration of the subject recommended to me by some of our Brethren whom I greatly respect, and latterly by the Trustees who were assembled at the Marsh, 1795. This subject is an application to His Holiness for a revival of the Society in the United States." Dr. Carroll then discusses the precautions necessary in approaching the subject, and though the measure is a highly desirable one, he confesses: "I am far from an intimate conviction that any considerable advantage would be derived from the reappear-

²² A list of these benefactions will be found in Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 690, note 12.

ance of the Society with a mutilated and defective Constitution, instead of that one, compleat in all its parts, by which the Jesuits were formerly governed. Indeed, I should have fears that such a restitution might be of prejudice by preventing a full and entire one, in some later period."²² That Dr. Carroll was justified in these prudent views is borne out by the failure of the pseudo-Jesuit Society, then established in France, under the name of Paccanarists.

The general status of the Society at the opening of the century was greatly changed by the Pontifical Brief *Catholicae Fidei*, of March 7, 1801, granting a legal or canonical existence to the Order as a body in Russia, with the singular privilege of aggregating members from any part of the world.²⁴ The Russian Province now had a General of the Society at its head in the person of Father Gabriel Cruber (10 Oct., 1802—April 7, 1805), and it was evident to the Catholic world that the full and "compleat" reappearance of the Society was but a question of time. It was the long captivity of the Pope at Savona which prevented the canonical restoration of the Society before his freedom in 1814. Father Thomas Hughes rightfully sees a providential action in the partial restoration of the Jesuits in the United States in 1806; for, when the general revival came in 1814, only one Jesuit of the old veteran members of 1773, was alive—Father Charles Neale.

The year previous to the Russian restoration, Bishop Carroll had entered into negotiations with Prince Charles de Broglie and Abbé Rozaven, the leaders of the Society of the Fathers of the Faith, commonly known as Paccanarists. Among the many attempts made to revive the rule and the aims of the Society of Jesus during the Interim

²² Cited by Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 818, note 13.

²⁴ Carroll received this intelligence from Father Strickland in a letter dated London, September 29, 1801. (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D2.)

(1773-1814) two only were blessed with some measure of success. The first of these was the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded by two young Seminarists of St. Sulpice (Paris) who had taken refuge in Belgium during the French Revolution—François Eleanor de Tournely and Prince Charles de Broglie, a son of the famous Marshal, Prince de Broglie. They set up a novitiate near Louvain, where they were joined by several brilliant young army-officers, notably, Joseph Varin. In 1794, they were forced to flee from Belgium at the advance of the French army, but during the wanderings of the little community, studies were kept up and several of their members were ordained. A final stand was made at Hagebrunn, near Vienna, in 1797, and Father Varin was chosen Superior. Meanwhile, at Rome, Nicholas Paccanari, a native of Valsugnano, near Trent, had founded a similar community, under the title, the Company of the Faith of Jesus. This second Society proved attractive to many of the ex-Jesuits, and a fusion with the French Society of the Sacred Heart was proposed and effected in 1790. Paccanari, then only a tonsured cleric, was elected Superior-General of the united community, henceforth known as the Fathers of the Faith. In 1800, Fathers De Broglie and Rozaven were sent to England in quest of subjects. The Fathers of the Faith at this time numbered about 150 members. As has been seen, among the ex-Jesuits who joined the new community was Father Forrester, the master of ceremonies at Carroll's consecration, but Father Charles Plowden was in the beginning as strongly opposed to a partial restoration of the Society's Constitutions and Rule, as Bishop Carroll was. Abbé de Broglie opened a school in Kensington, London, but he came to grief in 1805. Paccanari himself proved to be somewhat of an adventurer, and disappeared in 1809. Almost all the Fathers of the Faith entered either the Russian Province of the Society of Jesus before 1814, or the restored Society after its revival.

Fathers Rozaven and De Broglie wrote to Bishop Carroll on July 4, 1800, telling him of the creation of an English Province of the Fathers of the Faith, with Father Rozaven as Provincial, and urging the American ex-Jesuits to join the new community. They offered their services in the missions and especially in the work of teaching at Georgetown. Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop-elect Neale, replied (October 27, 1800), accepting with gratitude the proposal made, and they asked that one or two of the Fathers well versed in philosophy and especially in natural philosophy and mathematics, and not ignorant of English, be sent out from England to Georgetown, where a hearty welcome would be given them. Besides these, the Missions needed two or three good priests, especially those who knew German. On this same day, Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, saying that money would be forthcoming for the expenses of the journey of "one or two professors of philosophy for Georgetown College." Further details of this attempt of the Paccanarists to make a beginning in the United States, are given in Carroll's letter to Plowden, under date of Decemer 15, 1800:

Since the receipt of your last, as I probably mentioned to you in June, I received and answered a letter from London, sent to me by Messrs. de Broglie and Rosaven. They gave the outlines of their institute, and its acceptance by the late and present pope. I can entertain no doubt of the zeal and sound principles of this new body of recruits to the church, of which I have heard much from other quarters; therefore have requested them to send two of their Society to this country, where they will learn in the space of a few months, much more concerning the probability and means of forming establishments here, than can be learned by twenty letters. Their place is, I hope the work of God, tho' in one point they have departed from S. Ignatius, viz: that of engrafting on their institution a new order of nuns, to be under the government

of the Superiors of their own Society. I should be glad to hear of the manner of their reception in England and success there.

Mr. Stone, to whom I send my best respects, will receive a letter signed by some of our Brethren, amongst whom is Dns. Doyne, concerning this application to me from these two Delegates of the Society of the Faith of Jesus. They (our Brethren) met together without a general concert of the rest of us, and full of zeal for the re-establishment of the Society, have written as if that happy event were already effected, and I have seen a letter from one of those, who attended that meeting, in which, to the signature of his name, he adds the word, *Soc. I.* This is going too fast for one who subscribed his submission to the operation of the destructive Brief. In mine to MM. Broglie and Rosaven, at the request of the Presidt. of Georgetown College, I solicited them to send if they could a capable professor of philosophy, logic and natural [*Writer began to write "natural religion," but stopped with "re," which he cancelled, leaving natural uncanceled*] and who should know English, referring them to Mr. Stone thro' Mr. Strickland.⁸⁵

The joint letter of the seven Maryland ex-Jesuits to which Dr. Carroll refers was one drawn up after a meeting held at St. Thomas Manor November 28, 1800, for the purpose of considering a union with the Paccanarists.⁸⁶ The letter sent to Bishop Carroll by De Broglie and Rozaven was carefully considered, and a history of the Fathers of the Faith, by Father Halnat, who had brought about the amalgamation of the two communities, was read. The leaders of the Fathers of the Faith were then assured that they would find the American ex-Jesuits ready for union. Dr. Carroll objected to this proceeding because all the Jesuits were not represented, and because he feared, as he

⁸⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

⁸⁶ A digest of this letter is in Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 761.

had said before, any hasty action which might endanger the general restoration of the Society.

A year apparently went by before anything further was done, though we find on October 19, 1801, Bishop Neale giving way to a spirit of discouragement in a letter to Father Stone, then President of Stonyhurst College: "All the members of the Society here are now grown old, the youngest being past 54. Death therefore holds out his threatening rod, and excites us to redoubled wishes for the re-establishment of the Society, on which the welfare of this country seems much to depend."³⁷ When the news came of the pontifical approval given to the Society in Russia (1801), hopes were immediately aroused by the little remnant of the Jesuits here that they might be canonically aggregated to that Province. On March 12, 1802, Dr. Carroll tells Father Plowden that he had heard of the Russian restoration: "I beg you to send me, as early as possible, all the authentic information on this subject of which you are in possession."³⁸ Father Strickland had already sent the news, however, for on April 21, 1802, Bishop Neale wrote to Stone: "We have heard of the reestablishment of the Society thro' Mr. Strickland. But the clear light does not yet shine on us. . . . Anything genuine from our ancient body would be highly gratifying."³⁹ The Americans seem to have been left in the dark for a long time. Bishop Neale was constantly being importuned by the old Jesuits to obtain exact information of their status, and he wrote to Stone (June 30, 1802): "For God's sake relieve me from my

³⁷ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 761. Neale's Correspondence on the Paccanarist and Russian episodes is in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 5 P. Q. R.

³⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

³⁹ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 762. (Strickland finally sent to Carroll the information asked, in the autumn of 1804 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 8-D4, 5). These letters also contain the English attitude towards Borgia's opposition to the aggregation with Russia.

distressed situation." Finally, on August 30, 1802, seven of the American ex-Jesuits met at Newtown and sent a joint letter to the two Bishops, asking that they write at once to the General of the Society in Russia, "in our behalf to inform him of our wish to be reinstated." They desired also information regarding the status of the ex-Jesuit properties, and they asked for an authentic copy of the *Catholicae Fidei*. The appointment of a Visitor or Commissary-General, to be sent from Russia or England, was likewise urged. Those who signed this Petition were: Fathers Charles Neale, James Walton, John Bolton, Ignatius Baker Brook, Charles Sewall, Robert Molyneux, and Sylvester Boarman. But direct communication with Father-General Gruber, in Russia, was very difficult, owing to the disturbed condition of affairs in Europe.

The Paccanarist movement died out in the United States as quickly as it began. One of the Fathers of the Faith, Rev. Nicholas Zocchi, arrived here about this time. He had gone first to Canada, but the government there would not permit him to remain, and he came to Baltimore.⁴⁰ Dr. Carroll says of him in a letter to Plowden (February 12, 1803:) "One of their [Paccanarist] body is now here, *Romano di nascita*, his name Zocchi. He went from England to Canada but the rigor of government there allows not of any foreign Catholic clergymen settling in it; he therefore came hither, but being of a narrow understanding, he does nothing but pine for the arrival of his brethren, and in the meantime will undertake no service. From this sample of the new order, I am induced to believe that they are very little instructed in the maxims or Institute of our venerable mother, the Society. Tho' they profess to have no other rules than ours, he seems to me to know nothing of the structure of our Society, nor even to have read the

⁴⁰ *Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Halifax Mss.*, 4.106.

regulae communes, which our very novices knew almost by heart." ⁴¹

From this time forward, all hopes for restoration were centered on Russia. "It was a period of great anxiety and perplexity," says Shea, "in which neither Dr. Carroll nor his pious coadjutor, Bishop Neale, could see his way clearly. They wrote to Father Gabriel Gruber, General of the Jesuits in Russia. 'We who write this letter to your Paternity were formerly of the Society of Jesus and the Province of England. After the fell destruction of the Society in 1773, we returned to this our native land, and have labored in it together with fellow-members of our Society, ours being the only Catholic priests who have labored for the salvation of souls since the first entrance of Christians into these lands.' They then detailed the erection of the Diocese of Baltimore and the influx of other priests. The fourteen surviving members of the Society, most of them broken by years and toil, remained chiefly in the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, in which was the oldest and most powerful residence of Catholics. They state how joyously they had learned of the preservation of the Society in Russia, and the permission given him by a Papal brief to enroll again in the Society those who had formerly been members. 'Wherefore most of them solicit with ardent desire, that by renewing the same vows, which they had vowed to God in the Society of Jesus, they may be permitted to end their days in its bosom; and if it can be done by the will of Providence, spend the remainder of their lives in restoring the Society among us. You know, Very Rev. Father, what and how much must be done that not a mere larva of the old Society, but its genuine form, the rule, and proper spirit may revive in them all.' To effect this the two bishops asked: 1. Whether the Sovereign Pontiff had per-

⁴¹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

mitted the erection of the Society elsewhere than in Russia, by an authentic brief or bull. 2. Whether the Pope permitted only the former members to re-enter, or authorized the reception of new members. 3. What probation was to precede the restoration of former members. 4. How delegates were to be chosen to the General Congregation. They urged him to select some Father of great prudence, experience in the direction of affairs, and deeply imbued with the spirit of Saint Ignatius, to come over, with such powers of a Visitor as the holy founder conferred on Saint Francis Borgia and others, and effect the restoration. They did not consider any one of the Fathers in America eligible, as they had been absorbed in missionary duty and had enjoyed little leisure to study the Constitutions and the acts of the General Congregations. If no one in England could be found, they preferred an Italian or a German. The bishops stated that the property formerly belonging to the Society had been nearly all preserved, and was sufficient to maintain at least thirty Fathers; and that part of it had been employed in founding a College for the education of young men. They further mentioned their own elevation to the episcopate and the freedom enjoyed by Catholics, under which there was no obstacle to religious orders; and closed by expressing their fervent wish that some hope and beginning of the restoration of the Society may result from their correspondence."⁴²

Another year was to pass before an answer to this letter reached the United States. Meanwhile, the Society received partial restoration in England, having been aggre-

⁴² Shea, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 517-519, cited from the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. iv, p. 73. (Cf. Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. vi, pp. 358 ss. Paris, 1846). The present writer found it impossible to obtain permission to secure a complete set of the *Woodstock Letters*, but was fortunate in being able to consult them in a library abroad. References to the *Letters* are not given, since in most cases the original documents are cited.

gated to Russia, by Father Gruber in 1803, and after the opening of the regular novitiate at Hodder, it is easy to recognize Charles Plowden's fine hand in effecting a similar restoration in the United States.⁴³ The long delay in hearing from Russia influenced some to consider the advisability of joining the English Province, then under Father Stone, as Superior. Georgetown College was not flourishing, and it was evident that it would continue to show signs of decline under Bishop Neale's direction. The only hope of saving the institution was to place it in the hands of the Society, whose estates had helped so considerably in building and equipping it, and if the ex-Jesuits here could count upon help from Stonyhurst, they would willingly join the English Province. The situation was also clouded by the fact that Father Emery had recalled the Sulpicians. "Some have already departed," wrote Bishop Neale to Stone on June 25, 1803, "others are on the point of sailing. Of course, the seminary is no longer calculated on. The school for boys erected there (St. Mary's College), to the great prejudice of George Town College, still exists; but as the Spanish youths, their chief support, are ordered by their Government to return immediately to their native country, it must naturally fall to nothing. Our number of scholars is very small, but we still stand in the critical moment of trial. Were it the will of Heaven that the Society be speedily re-established here, I should be happy to deliver up my presidency to their happier guidance."⁴⁴

⁴³ Betagh wrote to Carroll from Dublin, August 6, 1805, that nineteen young Irish novices were under Plowden's direction at Hodder (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-O4). A characteristic situation appears in a letter from Strickland, who wrote to Carroll from London, July 11, 1806, saying that Father Plowden had found a serious difficulty in controlling the Irish novices, the leader of whom told the English Superior that they would obey an "Italian, German, or even a Turkish Superior, but would never submit to an Englishman." (*Ibid.*, case 8-D8).

⁴⁴ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 798.

On November 21, 1803, Bishop Carroll, who was then in New York, wrote to Father Strickland, in order to hasten Father Gruber's answer:

Rev. and hond. Sir.

The inclosed letters are for the very Rev. Fr. Gruber, Genl. of the Society. One of them is the duplicate of another written in May last, to which no answer is yet received; and fearful of miscarriage by the way of Hamburg, to which the first copy was to have been sent, I take the liberty of inclosing these to you, and requesting the Genl. to send his answers thro' you. This I was induced to do; after hearing of the station, in which you are placed, and chosen by providence, as it may reasonably be hoped, to revive the spirit and renew the usefulness of the Society. The letters inclosed express the wishes of some of our former Brethren and of several others, priests and non-priests to be re-admitted, and first admitted into it. Being here on a visitation, I have only time to add, that the vessel is sailing, that I hope you will charge the postage on this and similar occasions to my account with Thos. Wright and Co., and assure MM. Plowden, Semmes, Spencer, and all my other acquaintances of my continued respect and attachment. To Mr. Plowden I will write soon, and shall always remain, Revd. hond. Sir,

Your most obedt. and Br. in Xt.

John, Bishop. of Baltre.⁴⁵

P. S. I leave blank the cover of my letters to the General, that you may give to it the proper direction. Rev. Mr. Joseph Doyne died Oct. 28 of this year.

Father Gruber eventually received the petition of the American ex-Jesuits, and replied on March 12, 1804, expressing his happiness at the news of the Americans' desire to revive the Society. Father Gruber justified the aggregation of the Americans by the *vivæ vocis oraculum*, and admitted all those who wished to unite with the Russian Pro-

⁴⁵ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

vince. He prescribed an eight days' retreat to those who should re-enter the Society, and gave a formula of oath for the profession. "Wherefore I beseech you," he added, "by your love for our most excellent Mother, to appoint some one of our old Fathers there, full of the spirit of God and St. Ignatius, who may examine those who are to be admitted for the first time, instruct, form, and watch over them: who if it seems best to you, may communicate with Father Stone, Provincial of England, or with Father Strickland at London. . . . In the meanwhile I commit the whole to the favor, zeal, and patronage of yourself, Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord and your coadjutor the Bishop of Gortyna. If you both consider that it will be easy to communicate with Father Stone, the Provincial of England, let ours turn to him for the necessary government. If Father Stone is too distant, inform me, and propose some one of our Fathers in America whom I can appoint Provincial. In the meantime, let the most Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of Baltimore designate one who may govern not only the novices but the whole reviving Society, with all the powers, which I concede *ad interim* to the one thus to be selected." ⁴⁶

"Bishop Carroll and his coadjutor, Bishop Neale," says Shea, "were animated with the deepest affection for the Society of which they had been members. Nothing was dearer to their hearts than its restoration, and had it then been authorized by a brief of equal power with that suppressing it, both would in all probability have resigned the episcopal dignity to become once more simple Fathers of the Society of Jesus." ⁴⁷

When this letter reached the United States is not known. Bishop Carroll wrote to Father Strickland, August 4, 1804:

⁴⁶ Gruber to Carroll, March 12, 1804, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 4-C 7. Another copy in Case 8 A-R 2.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 520-521.

I request you in the first place to return for answer to Fr. Gruber, that I have not yet received any letter from him, tho' one is expected impatiently by many of our Brethren. But even when his answer arrives, unless it presents the reestablishment of the Society in a view different from any that I have yet seen, it will, in my opinion, be very unsafe to enter into any engagement in it, at least so as to divest ones-self of the means of living independent, if after abdicating one's property another Pope should declare the re-establishment in virtue of a mere verbal promise, void, and contrary to Ecclesiastical institutions, and especially so in countries where it had been abolished in virtue of a brief, accepted and intimated by the first pastors, and submitted to expressly, tho' most unwillingly, by the members of the Society then living. But if the members of the Society, before their profession do not abdicate their property, they will not be truly religious, nor most assuredly Jesuits, according to the standard of St. Ignatius—I cannot even conceive, how there can be any *professi quatuor votorum* in the present state of things, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention to any one, who like you, remember the principles of our Theology concerning the difference between the dissolubility of solemn and simple vows. However, I hope sincerely that the Pope will soon be so unfettered, as to be able to issue in full and authentic form a bull or brief for the re-establishment. In this hope I am encouraged by a letter from Rome, received since I wrote the first lines of this; and the more so as it does not come from one of our former Brethren who are easily led to hope, what they ardently wish; but from a Dominican of note and character there, Fr. Concanen. You mention Fr. Angiolini's mission to Naples, only as a rumor, of which you expected a confirmation but Fr. Concanen says positively, that he was lately gone from Rome to that city to settle the four Houses granted by the king to the Jts: that an edict had been issued there in 1787 withdrawing all Regulars from any subjection to Generals or Superiors living out of the Kingdom; that Angiolini insisted on the necessity of preserving the Institute inviolate, and consequently of the Jesuits re-

cognizing Fr. Gruber for their Superior; and that it was believed, he would succeed in obtaining a revocation of the decree, which would be of the greatest benefit not only to his own, but all other religious Orders.⁴⁸

By the end of the year (1804) several of the young men at Georgetown College and at the Seminary had expressed a desire to join the Society of Jesus as soon as it was restored; but Dr. Carroll was not encouraged by this, because, as he said "we are wretchedly provided with experienced and fit members to train and form them." No answer had come by December 7, 1804, as Carroll states in a letter to Father Plowden, and he gives his opinion quite emphatically that he is not satisfied with the *viva voce* method of being restored to the Society: "I would neither trust to it myself or advise others to do so; in which opinion I am confirmed the more, by knowing that His Holiness either will not or dares not to exert authority enough to prevent Cardinal Borgia from writing such a letter to Your VV. AIA., as is mentioned by Mr. Stone. . . . So much mystery has been made of all proceedings concerning it [*the Restoration*], that every one is full of distrust, to which the general state of religion and the influence enjoyed by its greatest foes contributes in great measure." Again, in this same letter he speaks of Molyneux' disapproval of the secretive measures adopted by the English Jesuits. "Robert is not pleased with the secrecy which prevails with your principal people in the transactions relative to the Society. In general, I do not approve of the system of conducting without any communication the affairs concerning so small a body as the remnant of the Society in England; but, at the same time, it is reasonable to suppose, that there is good cause for it, and it would be very rash for any one, at my distance, to blame a conduct, of which he cannot know the motives.

⁴⁸ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

Your Br's. sound sense, great virtues, and steady attachment to the Society are a sure warrant of his acting on principle, and I have no doubt of others acting equally so, tho' they agree not on the means. My greatest objections to a dependence on a *vivæ vocis oraculum* (a modern phrase unknown for many centuries), is, that it gives no stability to a religious order; that cannot abrogate a public and acknowledged instrument, such as the brief of destruction; and that without an authentic bull of approbation of the Institute, the distinction of simple & solemn vows, so essential to the Society, does not exist according to the doctrine of our Divines, after Suarez."

Acting on Father Gruber's letter of aggregation, Bishop Carroll, on June 21, 1805, the Feast of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, appointed Father Robert Molyneux Superior of the restored Society of Jesus in the United States.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

You know the purport of the letter, which I received from the very Rev. Fr. Gabriel Gruber, Gen. of the Society in Russia. Messrs. Bolton and Brooke have likewise informed you of the proceedings had thereupon at St. Thomas's. To give life and vigor to the measures recommended by the Genl. it seemed necessary to begin with that exercise of power, with which I was entrusted by his Paternity; that is, the appointment of a Superior, to be one of the former body of the Society, and a candidate for readmission. His authority will last till the General's will be further declared. I am therefore now to make known to you, that you are appointed to that office; and, as no special form of appointment was made use of by the General in delegating to me his power for nominating a Superior, I am to presume that nothing more than his notification is requisite to invest you for the present with all the rights and privileges, power and authority, wherewith the Provincials of the Society were formerly invested; which rights, power and authority are to appertain to you, till the Genl. shall otherwise ordain. Of this appointment notice

will be sent hence to George Town and S. Thomas's. You will cause this letter to be read to those, who desire to belong to the Society in St. Mary's County.

That God may bless this attempt to restore the Society in the United States, and all your labours to effect it, is the earnest prayer of, *etc.*⁴⁹

The Society of Jesus in the United States, even though part of such a far-away Province, now possessed canonical rights and privileges before the Church and the Church's representative in episcopal power and jurisdiction, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Its situation was of course a different one from that which had existed in the old days (1634-1773), when the nearest juridic power was the English Provincial across the sea. It was indeed a novel situation—one to which the veterans in the restored Society were unaccustomed; but even under an easy-going and rather inactive leader like Molyneux, the restored Society soon took up its old Rule and religious life. There was bound to be friction over the transfer of the ex-Jesuit properties, but during the episcopate of Carroll and Neale, no serious variance of opinion caused any dissension to arise. In fact, as we read in Carroll's letter to Stone (August 1803),

⁴⁹ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 820. Father Molyneux is occasionally spoken of as Provincial. He was only Superior of the affiliated American Jesuits. When he died on December 9, 1808, Father Charles Neale became Superior, and on October 1, 1812, Neale was superseded by Father Kohlmann, who resigned in 1812, to be succeeded by Father John Grassi. In 1817, Father Grassi was followed by Kohlmann, and on November 15, 1821, Charles Neale again became Superior. He was succeeded by Father Dzierozynski, on August 13, 1823, and in November, 1830, Father Kenney was placed in charge of the American Jesuits. It was only in 1833 that the Province was erected, with Father William McSherry as first Provincial. These dates are taken from a letter to B. U. Campbell by Father George Fenwick, dated October 12, 1855, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C, D-8*. The ratification of Molyneux's appointment by Brzozowski is in an official letter to Carroll from the Father General, dated February 22, 1806. (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C 2).

the two bishops had seriously considered whether they should not resign their Sees (Baltimore and Gortyna) and resume their former state in the Society. They were held back, fortunately, by the realization that the Diocese might be entrusted to one who was opposed to the general restoration of the Society of Jesus. No one realized more profoundly than Carroll the great boon to religion the Society would be. His old fears, however, crowded around him, for it was one thing to have the Society restored, and quite another to have its membership made up of vigorous, able and learned men.⁵⁰ Only three of the former members had resumed their status at this time—Molyneux, Charles Sewall, and Charles Neale. Bishop Carroll liked Molyneux; he had lived with Sewall at St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral from 1786-1807; and he had experienced the peculiar bent of Charles Neale's character in several matters of importance, particularly in his influence over the Carmelite nuns at Port Tobacco. But he had no illusions about any of these men. Of Molyneux, he wrote to Plowden, at the time of the former's death (December 9, 1808): "About the beginning of last December, I advised you of the apprehension I was then under, of daily hearing of the death of our old, good, and much respected friend, Mr. Robt.

⁵⁰ The Father-General wrote to Carroll, on June 9, 1836 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C 3), telling him he need not be troubled over Propaganda's attitude towards the American restoration—"de internis Prætor non judicat!", he writes. Again, on August 9, 1807, Brzozowski wrote to Carroll about his great hopes for the American branch of the Society; the novices were to be placed in the care of the wisest of the new members, and the "doors were to be opened wide" to receive all who wished to join the Society (*Ibid.*, Case 2-C 4). The opinion of Father Strickland on Propaganda's attitude is expressed in a letter to Carroll, dated London, December 16, 1808 (*Ibid.*, case 8-C 3)—"Propaganda is a public tribunal and could not accept the *viva voce oraculum*, but would have to have official documents of a legal value; moreover, if Propaganda recognized the Society, certain properties which the Sacred Congregation has confiscated, would have to be restored, particularly in the East."

Molyneux, which event took place at Georgetown on the 9th of that month, after his being prepared by a life of candor, virtue and innocence, and by all those helps, which are mercifully ordained for the comfort and advantage of departing Christians. Not only your charity, but your friendship for him, with whom you passed so many cheerful and happy days of your life, will induce you to recommend very often his soul to the Father of mercies. He was my oldest friend, after my relation and companion to St. Omers in my childhood, Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who remains among us. As he often and feelingly reminded me the first time I saw him, in the month of September, there were very slender hopes of meeting more in this world. *R. I. P.* No successor in the presidency of the College is yet appointed. Previous to his death, in consequence of powers vested in him by the proper authority, he had appointed Mr. Chas. Neale to be the Superior of the body lately revived among us."⁵¹

Father John Bolton and Sylvester Boarman soon joined the revived Community, and to aid the new Province, the Father-General Brozowski, sent over some foreign Jesuits: Father Adam Britt, S. J., John Henry, S. J., Francis Malevé, S. J., Anthony Kohlmann, S. J. and Peter Epinette, S. J.⁵²

⁵¹ *Stonhurst Transcripts.*

⁵² Strickland to Carroll, London, August 16, 1806 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, case 8-D 10). Fathers Britt, Henry and Malevé came out first, and were followed later by Fathers Kohlmann and Epinette. The six priests were admitted into the Select Body of the Clergy on September 1, 1807 (Hughes, *op. cit.*, *Documents*, vol. i, part ii, p. 871). This action was nullified by the Corporation on May 12, 1808, on the ground that the six priests were foreigners, and as such were not recognized as beneficiaries by the Maryland laws. It would be asking too much of the American ex-Jesuits to have been thoroughly in harmony with these new foreign members of the revived Society. Grassi, in his *Memorie*, tells us that many of those who joined the American Jesuits at this period (1805-1817) were former members of other religious Orders (pp. 33-37). These priests were immediately

The danger of a conflict over property rights and transfer was avoided by an agreement signed by Carroll and Molyneux (September 20, 1805) whereby under certain conditions the Society re-entered into possession of the old estates some of which dated back to the time of the early Calverts. Bishop Carroll was to receive an annuity, allotted to him from the estates, which were to remain perpetual and inalienable.⁵³ This arrangement lasted until the time of Maréchal, when around it was centered for a time a notorious controversy, the last echoes of which do not seem yet to have died away.

The eminent Sulpician, Father Anthony Garnier, who had returned to France in 1803, with characteristic *bonhomie* wrote to Bishop Carroll about this time (January 17, 1806) :

Je vous fais bien sincèrement mon compliment de rétablissement de la très sainte et très utile Compagnie de Jésus dans votre diocèse. C'est elle qui la première a jeté le fondement de la foi dans vos contrées, c'est à elle qu'il appartient de l'établir et de le consolider. Puisse-t-elle se rétablir dans toute sa ferveur primitive! Puisse-t-elle produire de nouveaux François-Xaviers propres à la maintenir et à l'entendre dans l'immense diocèse que la divine Providence vous a confiée.⁵⁴

To prepare Francis Xaviers—men of learning, of erudi-

dispatched by Carroll to different parts of his Diocese. Father-General Brzozowski wrote to Carroll from Russia on August 18, 1808, congratulating him on the division of the Diocese of Baltimore and regretting that the troubled condition of Europe had prevented him from sending more Jesuits to the American group (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C 5).

⁵³ These articles of agreement will be found in Hughes, *l. c.*, pp. 929-930. The two parties agreed that the properties had now been vested in the restored Society, that Carroll's annuity as Superior, that is, as Bishop, would continue, and that the said annuity should be attached in perpetuity to the See of Baltimore.

⁵⁴ *Georgetown College Archives*, *Shea Collection*, printed in Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 822 note.

tion even, who would obey in the simplicity of their sanctity. the voice of the Superior who should send them out to convert the world in the name of Christ—required the very thing Bishop Carroll feared could not then be given, namely that special training in the novitiate in which the true follower of St. Ignatius Loyola is formed to the Founder's spirit and ideal. The condition of the little band who had set their hands to the task of bringing life back to the Society was a lame and crippled one, and the commencement of the business,—to use Charles Sewall's phrase—was "perfectly awkward." A novitiate was opened at Georgetown with Father Charles Neale, as Novice-Master, and Carroll accounts in his letter of April 2, 1806, to Strickland, for eleven novices, scholastics, and lay coadjutors. Amongst the novices and scholastics there were some young men of brilliant talents. When Father Molyneux, the first Superior was dying (December 8, 1808) he named Charles Neale as Superior and Father-General Brzozowski⁵⁵ confirmed this appointment, making him Superior on September 13, 1809. If we are to accept the word of Father John Grassi, whose *Memoir* on the restored Society of Jesus in the United States (1810-1817) is one of the literary sources for this period, there never had been a strong bond of affection between Bishop Carroll and Charles Neale, and considerable friction seems to have arisen between them (1808) owing to the Jesuit Superior's action in removing at will the priests who belonged to his community. Strictly speaking, if the Society in the United States had been given full canonical existence in 1806, as it was in 1814, Father Neale was within his rights in using his subjects to what he considered the

⁵⁵ Father-General Gruber died on April 7, 1805, according to Brzozowski—letter to Carroll, May 12, 1805 (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-P 3). Father-General Brzozowski's appointment is mentioned in a letter to Carroll from Strickland, November 4, 1805 (*Ibid.*, Case 8-D 6), who added in a postscript: "How to pronounce his name, I know not!"

best advantage. But during those eight years of its private (*foro interno*) re-establishment, Archbishop Carroll could not help taking offense at actions which objectively at least were a derogation of his episcopal jurisdiction. Apologies were made to the Metropolitan of Baltimore by Brzozowski, who also wrote a warning letter to Neale, and later relieved him of his post to make way for Father John Grassi, S. J., who had arrived in 1811. The point at issue was, however, something more important than mere personal dislike, which Carroll certainly had for Charles Neale. It was the regulation passed by the Bishops in the Meeting of 1810 regarding priests who are members of secular or regular Congregations; namely, that once they have been entrusted to the care of souls in a specified locality, they ought not to be recalled against the will of the Bishop. This was a protective measure highly necessary in the condition of the Church here, where priests were so few in number. It was Neale's imprudent use of his powers as Superior in removing Father Adam Britt, S. J., from Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia, which finally aroused Carroll and caused him to write to the Father-General suggesting that some one else be appointed as Jesuit Superior in the United States.⁵⁹ Father Brzozowski's letter (November 20, 1811) relieving Neale and appointing Grassi, says that Father Kohlmann would have been given the post, but that he was needed in New York.

The most remarkable of the Jesuits sent from Europe by the General was Father Anthony Kohlmann, whose career in America and in Europe as a teacher and missionary places him above all who belonged to the American Province during his time here. Bishop Carroll quickly saw the brilliant

⁵⁹ The Britt-Carroll correspondence will be found in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-A 1-18. Carroll's letters to the Father-General on Neale's acts are in the same Archives, Case 2-C 7 (September 11, 1808), Case 2-C 9 (October 18, 1812).

qualities of Father Kohlmann and used him to bring peace to the factions in the churches of Baltimore and Philadelphia. When Bishop Concanen advised Archbishop Carroll of his inability to set out for America, Father Kohlmann was sent to New York as Administrator and Vicar General during the interim, which lasted until Bishop Connolly's arrival in 1815.⁵⁷ Here in 1808-09 he began a classical school, called the New York Literary Institute, on the present site of St. Patrick's Cathedral. His stay in New York is equally remarkable for the famous decision in a confessional case, to the effect that confessions of penitents were inviolable and could not be revealed in court.⁵⁸ In 1815, Father Kohlmann returned to Georgetown and became Master of Novices. Two years later he was appointed Superior, and in 1824 when the Gregorian University was reopened in Rome, he was recalled to take the chair of dogmatic theology. One of his pupils was Joachim Pecci, later Leo XIII. He died in Rome on April 11, 1836.

The imprisonment of Pope Pius VII and the partial disorganization of business routine at Rome, together with the blockade of European ports and the War of 1812 between England and the United States, caused an almost complete stoppage of letters at this time; in a way, this was not an evil to the Church in America, or to the restored Society. The leaders, the priests and the laymen who were officials in Church temporalities, were thus thrown upon their own resources, and were forced to fight their way through difficulties which outside advice or guidance might only have made more complicated and, perhaps, insoluble.

⁵⁷ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case 2-C 7.

⁵⁸ Sampson, *The Catholic Question in America* (New York, 1813), contains in an appendix the report of this first legal tilt over the seal of the confessional. The book aroused considerable controversy, to which Kohlmann replied in 1821, with his *Unitarianism, Theologically and Philosophically Considered*. Cf. Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, pp. 232-234. Boston, 1872; *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, vol. ii, July, 1846.

The College of Georgetown which had passed over to the Society of Jesus, at its partial restoration here, began to flourish under Father John Grassi's Rectorship (1811-1817). Carroll writes to Plowden, on December 12, 1813: "Mr. Grassi has revived the College of G. Town which has received great improvement in the number of students, and course of studies. His predecessor (Father Francis Neale, S. J.) with the same good intentions had no ability for his station, and was nominated by a strange combination. There are, I think, nine or ten novices under a Fr. Beschter of Flanders, a very holy man, but one, in whom the want of a regular education in the Society is very discernible."⁵⁹ The Novitiate was removed from Georgetown to St. Inigoes, in 1812. The danger of British invasion and other reasons led the Fathers to prepare the house at Whitemarsh for the novices.⁶⁰ The Whitemarsh plantation had been placed under the care of Father Germain Bitouzey, in 1801. Father Bitouzey soon acquired considerable influence in the Corporation of the Clergy, being elected one of the Trustees (1802). He had little love for the leaders of the American Jesuits, whom he contemptuously referred to as "the Russians", and the Society found it difficult to induce him to give up the Whitemarsh plantation. Bitouzey's letters are filled with indignation against the restored Society and he refused to yield possession of Whitemarsh on the score that the Society had not been reestablished in the United States.⁶¹ Bishop Carroll realized the unpleasant effect not only of

⁵⁹ *Stonyhurst Transcripts*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*, *Documents*, vol. i, part i, pp. 366-368, part ii, pp. 839-842.

⁶¹ *Baltimore Cathedral Archives*, Case I-R 5-9. For Grassi's comments on the foreign Jesuits (*Memorie sulla Compagnia di Gesù, ristabilita negli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale*, pp. 24-37), see Hughes, *op. cit.*, *Documents*, vol. i, part ii, p. 866, note 144.

Bitouzey's attitude but of Grassi's insistence upon the Society's rights over the old Jesuit houses. "Let me beseech you," he writes on October 16, 1813, "to recommend to the members of the Society to follow the instructions of the Very Rev. Father-General, and convince themselves that they have not, and cannot have yet, any corporate right in the ecclesiastical property of this country. I see, methinks, a cloud gathering and raised up by some anti-Jesuitical clergymen of different nations among us, which threatens much trouble, if they can raise it; but their enmity would give me little alarm, if it were not vitiated more and more by the presumptuous language and premature pretensions of some of your subjects."⁶² A week later, Carroll again warned Grassi (October 25, 1813) that his impetuous desire for the immediate management of the old Jesuit temporalities would kindle a flame of resentment against the Society; and he warns the Jesuit Superior to proceed with the utmost legal caution.⁶³ Father Bitouzey resigned (October 26, 1813), and the novices finally reached Whitemarsh after staying for a period at Georgetown and at Frederick (1812-1814)

Archbishop Carroll's letter of January 31, 1814, to Father Stone, the English Superior is of the highest importance for the proper appraisal of the relations between the See of Baltimore and the Jesuits down to Carroll's death, in 1815:

Rev. and respected Sir,

At the time of receiving the last letter from my Venerable friend, Mr. Strickland, began by him, and in consequence of his illness finished by you, hostilities broke out between our two countries, and rendered the conveyance of letters so uncertain, that I did not presume to answer you on the interesting subject, on which you did me the honour to ask my opinion. Be-

⁶² Hughes, *l. c.*, part i, p. 367.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

fore touching on it at present I must first express my real uneasiness at not hearing more concerning our common highly valued friend, tho within the last three last months Mr. Grassi had had letters from Stonyhurst, and I likewise from both Mesrs. Charles and Robt. Plowden. All of these contain a mortuary list of our Brethren, but nothing of Mr. Strickland, which encourages me to hope, not only that he lives, but likewise so as to enjoy comfort, to continue, to a certain degree, his accustomed usefulness.

On the subject, about which you were pleased to advise with me, I presume, that our friends in England are precisely in the same state, as we are here; that is, that nothing has been done for annulling and repealing the destroying Brief of Clement 14th. with equal authority, publicity and authenticity; as was given to that Pontiff's act, which had its full execution in all countries where it was published. Even the members of the Society, namely those at Liège, in Flanders, in England and here entered their free, tho certainly reluctant submission to it. Reviewing the severe injunctions contained in the Brief, the censures on the Ordinaries, who allow, and the individuals who attempt its violation, it seems to me, that without a derogation from it by an act of equal authority, and quite as authentic; those, who with you and us, bind themselves by vow to live under the obedience of the Genl. in Russia, or to conform to the rules of the Society, will nor can be a religious body, or enjoy the privileges of such. Their sacrifice is highly meritorious before God, but in the face of the Church, those, who enter into Orders, and those who are already in them, must be subject to the general discipline as to their title for ordination, and be, as secular priests under the authority of the Bishops. This has been declared by Fr. Czerniewiez, in his letter to Mr. Jn. Howard at Liège, Fr. Gruber and the present Genl., in their communications to me, copy of which would now be forwarded, if I were not confident that you have received such already. Tho these restraints diminish much the usefulness of our Dear Brethren, and may discourage some from making the sacrifice mentioned above, yet it is a mis-

fortune, to which submission is due, as long as it pleases God to keep us under it, which I trust will not be long.

This matter has often engaged my very serious attention, and caused me to refer to the authorities of the ablest Divines, from whom many extracts were occasionally made to aid my judgment. I have sometimes hoped, that these researches would lead to a different conclusion, but I am sorry to say that they all ended in confirming the opinion already expressed. Wherever the Brief was executed, the Society was extinguished; and to revive it, the same authority was requisite, as for the creation and approbation of a new Order. In Russian Poland, the Brief was not executed by the competent authority. But where fresh authority has not been authentically exercised, I cannot reconcile with the doctrine of our Divines, how the difference between simple and solemn vows, can be established; how any who embrace the Society here or in England can be *Professi quattuor votorum*; and consequently, how the Society can exist, unless there be professed Frs. What must then be the meaning of that part of the first vows, *promitto eandem Societatem me ingressurum* etc? With these impressions on my mind and the recollection of the solemn orders of his Holiness contained in the Briefs for my Consecration, the erection of this, and other Episcopal Sees in the United States, my obligation to be subject to the commands of *Congn de Propgda fide* etc. I never could persuade myself to admit that our young men, who associate themselves to the Society, can be admitted to Orders, *titulo religionis*: they are ordained *titulo missionis* under the authority of the Ordinary—As long as I and my Coadjutor, Bishop Neale continue alive, there will be little or no inconvenience; for we shall always act in harmony with the Superior of the Society; but in England I am sensible that this must be a disagreeable situation.⁶⁴

During Father Grassi's Rectorship the College was raised by an Act of Congress to the rank of a University (March 1, 1815), and from his day down to the present, it has never

⁶⁴ *Stonyhurst Transcripts.*

lost its place of eminence in the educational life of the United States. Father Grassi returned to Rome in 1817, succeeding to high posts in the Society, among which was the Rectorship of the Collegio Urbano. He died at Rome, December 12, 1849.

On December 7, 1814, Archbishop Carroll had the happiness of receiving a copy of the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* (August 7, 1814) which restored in full canonical form the Society of Jesus throughout the world. That night he dispatched it to Father Grassi, at Georgetown. *Laudemus Deum et exultemus in eo*, Carroll wrote to Grassi on December 10-11, 1814.⁶⁵ It was the end of all of his fears that the partial re-establishment in Russia, the Two Sicilies, England and America would not last, and in a pardonable burst of enthusiasm he proposed to the Jesuit superior the rather impractical suggestion of a meeting between the Ordinaries of the United States and the head of the Society of Jesus here. He proposed also to publish a Pastoral to the Catholics of the United States, calling to their attention the profound meaning of the memorable event. Many eloquent pages of jubilation were written by the members of the Society during these last weeks of the old year 1814. Dr. Carroll's letter to Father Plowden on receiving an authentic copy (January 5, 1815) of the *Sollicitudo* reflects the joy felt in the United States at the news of the Restoration:

My dear and respected Sir,

Your most precious and grateful favour of Octr. 8th accompanied by a copy of the bull of restoration was received early in Decr., and diffused the greatest sensation of joy and thanksgiving not only amongst the surviving and new members of the Society, but also all good Christians, who have any re-

⁶⁵ Cf. Hughes, *l. c.*, pp. 846-847. There is a contemporary account (by Maréchal?) of the condition of the Society in the United States, in the *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Letter-Books*, vol. i, p. 105.

membrance of their services, or heard of the unjust and cruel treatment, and have witnessed the consequences of their suppression; but your letter of Sepr. 27, to which you refer, has not been received, nor any other copy of the bull, nor a scrip of paper from Rome, since the Pope's delivery, tho I have written by various ways, and the last time, inclosed my letters to the Nuncio at Paris. You, who know Rome, may conceive my sensations, when I read the account transmitted in your most pleasing letter, of the celebration and mass by his Holiness himself at the superb altar of St. Ign. at the Gesù; the assemblage of the surviving Jesuits in the Chapel to hear the proclamation of their resurrection; the decree for the restitution of the residence in life and the scene of the death of their Patriarch of the Novitiate of S. Andrew, its most enchanting church, and the lovely monument and chapel of S. Stanislaus, which I fondly hope have escaped the fangs of rapine and devastation. Is there no hope, that these acts of justice and religion will be followed by the restoration likewise of the Roman College, the magnificent Church of S. Ignatius, and the wonderful monument of S. Aloysius? If as I believe, these were appropriated not to private uses, but became the public University of the City and Diocese of Rome, they will be restored to their former owners with less difficulty. But how many years must pass before these houses will be re peopled by such men as we have known and whom sanctity of manner, zeal for the divine glory, science, eloquence and talents of every kind rendered worthy of being the instruments of divine providence to illustrate his church, maintain its faith, and instruct all ranks of human society in all the duties of their respective stations. When I consider the length of preparation required to renew this race of men, my apprehensions is, that the friends of the Society will be too precipitate, too hasty in expecting benefits from it, before its pupils will be mature enough to produce them. I was sorry to notice, that you apprehend opposition in England to its existence there and of course in Ireland, notwithstanding the favorable disposition of the Irish Bishops. This commendation of them and particularly of the M. Rev. Abp. of Dublin

was the more agreeable to me because [*line and a half erased*] I always esteemed and thought him a real friend of the Society. Here I do not yet discover any sensation of hostility in our general, or any of the state governments. Little is said in the public papers of the event of the re-establishment. In consequence of the law, which was obtained above twenty years ago and had become necessary for securing our old estates to the purposes of religion, it will be our duty to observe the forms of the law, to subsist and quietly let the property pass into the hands of Trustees, who will all be members of the Society. Their vows and principles will direct them how, and by whom the estates must be administered for the services of the country and religion.

You express a wish that all the old members should now return to the embraces of their beloved mother. Of these mentioned by you the good Mr. Pile has been dead nearly two years ago. I much doubt whether Mr. Ashton, whom I have not seen for several years, will be disposed to do so, or whether Mr. Grassi wishes it. Concerning Bp. Neale and myself, it seems to us that till more is known of the mind of our rulers, it might not be for the interests of our Brethren, even if his Holiness would allow us to vacate our Sees, to expose our concerns to Successors, unfriendly perhaps or liable to be exposed only to malicious misrepresentations. But this matter however has not yet received my full consideration. If you should learn thereafter that difficulties have arisen concerning the Society in this country, you may be assured that the open or surest authors of the opposition are certain foreign Ecclesiastics (not one of whom is of the respectable body, the Sulpicians) who after a hospitable reception and ample participation of the prospect of our estates, proportioned to their services, took offense at every arrangement, preparatory to the now contemplated restitution of the property. Some of those persons would at once sell and divide it amongst the officiating clergy.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Stonyhurst Transcripts,*

Father Grassi unfortunately blundered at this juncture. In his excitement he allowed himself to be the spokesman for those who had been complaining for years of Carroll's attitude towards the restoration, and the result was an outspoken and indignant vindication of Carroll's policy from 1784 to 1814: "For my theology forbade me to allow, that pretended, or even acknowledge *vivæ vocis oracula* were sufficient authority to set aside the public, solemn acts of Pontifical jurisdiction, wherever they had been proclaimed, admitted, and long submitted to. I therefore could not, as long as there was no public instrument from His Holiness, allowing the bishops to ordain *titulo paupertatis religiosæ*, admit on that ground to Holy Orders those, who had associated themselves with the Society in Russia. Till such an instrument was issued, I think that the English VV. AA. [*Vicars-Apostolic*], as well as the bishops in Ireland, were quite correct in refusing to ordain the pupils of Stonyhurst and Hodder House *Titulo paup. & c.* whatever my friend Mr. [*Charles*] Plowden may say, who on this point would not be supported by his Br [*brother*] Robert, the more solid divine of the two. Besides the matter of ordination, there were other points, on which my judgment was nowise satisfied, concerning those who became associated in this country to your Brethren in Russia. In *foro externo*, as the General himself declared, they were not a religious body, they had no common interest, and they were not united in community, [*but*] only by the bonds of charity, being in the eye of ecclesiastical government no other than secular clergy; in a word, I saw nothing but contradiction between the established discipline of the Church, and the pretensions of Mr. Charles Neale, late Superior, some of his adherents and likewise those, which are sometimes asserted by Messrs. Beschter, Malevé, Malou, &c; but from which I can truly acquit you; though you have latterly discovered an impatience to be released from such restraints as were intro-

duced through necessity, and cannot be removed otherwise than gradually, without irritating certain passions." ⁸⁷

No doubt Father Grassi, who had been strongly influenced by the Neales, resented the somewhat patronizing tone of Carroll's letter after the receipt of the *Sollicitudo*, but certainly the old and revered Archbishop—he was then in his eightieth year—might have been spared that attack upon his honour.⁸⁸ Father Kohlmann, as a foreigner, despite his great learning, would naturally take Grassi's side against the Americans. The incident might be allowed to pass unnoticed, but it has its place in the general scheme of ecclesiastical life at that day in the United States—domination by aliens. Archbishop Carroll could not bear anyone ill-will, and so it is not surprising to find no mention of Grassi's insinuations in his letters to Plowden around this time. He went on also with his project of issuing a Pastoral "to the congregations of my diocese on the subject of the restoration of the Society," but he was being hindered, as he wrote to Grassi, on March 16, 1815, not "through forgetfulness or indifference but truly and really for the want of time. There are now but few hours of the day during which my mind is fit for any serious application; and so many urgent affairs have the first claim on those hours that you must have a little patience, as my desire is to make the address not absolutely unworthy of the occasion." ⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Quoted by Hughes, *l. c.*, pp. 851-852.

⁸⁸ Father Thomas Hughes interprets Bishop Carroll's attitude towards the revival of the Society as a consequence of his sympathy with Plowden. "This would indicate," Hughes writes, "that Carroll was as far out of touch with the whole body of English Jesuits as the Neale party considered he was out of sympathy with the American Jesuits." This view fails to give a proper recognition between Carroll's attitude before he became the appointed leader of the American Church and afterwards. As Superior and as Bishop it was his duty to avoid any suspicion that his actions were not in full accord with Propaganda's expressed decisions on this point.

⁸⁹ Hughes, *l. c.*, p. 853.

It is evident that death alone saved Carroll from the misery of an open break with the Jesuit Superior; and while it was with no intimation of its dread approach, we can catch a glimpse of the man's soul in conflict with these annoyances which robbed his last days of comfort. In one of his last letters to Plowden, dated June 25, 1815, he says:

My dear and respected friend,

My last was about one month ago; it informed you of many of your letters having been received, notwithstanding the impediments which for some years embarrassed our correspondence; tho, I regret the mis-carriage of others to which you refer. When I wrote, there was a pleasing expectation of a long and universal peace; but the late advices from France threaten to overwhelm again the world in trouble. For my own part, it shall be my endeavour, tho' I fear for my constancy, to keep my soul, as clear as I can, from those tumultuous sollicitudes which have agitated it so much for the losses and successes of contending nations. Such degrading immorality, and such base treachery have blackened the histories of some of them, that an old man, expecially, sees the benefit of restraining all partialities and placing his entire reliance of the wisdom and providence of God.

Yet there is one point, on which I feel, and in some degree cherish sollicitude, it is for the effect, which the irruption of Bonaparte into France, and consequent events may have on the progress of the newly restored Society. Your friend, Mr. Grassi is doing his best for it here, but it seems to me, that he consults chiefly, if not exclusively, foreigners, that is, his Brethren from Russia, Germany, Flanders, &c. all of them good religious men, but not one of them possessing an expanded mind, discerning enough to estimate difference between the American character, and that of the Countries which they left. Tho' I have noticed yet much of this partiality in himself, yet I apprehend that dissatisfaction, complaint and perhaps remonstrance will arise against certain acts of his administration. I shall advise, even in matters of the interior gov-

ernment of the Society whenever I can be useful, but if what has been noticed and reported hitherto is not mis-stated or misunderstood there is great reason that he will undesignedly beget a jealousy on the part of the Secular Clergy in this Diocese and perhaps other Orders, against the Society, an evil, which I most earnestly deprecate and against which our old Brethren, who saved property here after dissolution, so peculiarly guarded.⁷⁰

Father Grassi needed the letter referred to, which Archbishop Carroll wrote to him on February 21, 1815, and in which the venerable old man, wearied with the petty attacks upon his policies during the Interim, strikes back with all the vigor of his earlier days:

. . . . I must do myself the justice to say that, if ever any measures were taken to organize a system for the preservation of the property, which formerly did, and now again does, belong to the Society; to prevent it from being liable to waste and individual usurpation; if the College over which you preside obtained existence and legal capacity to acquire property and receive donations; if the very spot on which it stands, as well as the church, is now vested in the representatives of the College these were originally my acts alone; they were performed without the small [*est*] expense to those who have since enjoyed the property; my journeys year after year, my attendance on the general assemblies, my solicitations, my care and watchfulness over the wording of the different acts of the Legislature, which were necessary to erect corporations for the clergy and the College, so that they might not be a bar against the Society in case of its revival; these were done by me alone, tho I was very much opposed by those, who have since enjoyed the possession and administration of all which was acquired by them. The proofs of their opposition are still in my possession, and every one knows how they have profited by my exertions, labours, and expense. I think there-

⁷⁰ *Stonohurst Transcripts.*

fore that, contrary to my usual custom, I may claim to be, in an humble degree, *de Societate bene meritis*, as having protected those interests, which may by a prudent administration aid the progress of the body so miraculously restored. To which it may be added that, whilst all others were remaining with folded arms, without moving a step to prepare the way for a return of the Society, I alone opened and continued the correspondence with the General in Russia, and with his concurrence gave all that existence to it, which it could receive without a full and authentic repeal of the destructive brief of Clement XIV. I am ashamed for having said so much of myself, which nothing should have extorted from me but the undeserved insinuations of my unfriendliness for not adopting the suggestions of a zeal, which appeared to me so precipitate as to endanger the harmony of our fellow-labourers, to hurt the interests of the Society, and to embarrass my conscience as long as the Gan-ganellian brief remained unrepealed.⁷¹

Archbishop Carroll did not, however, allow Grassi's suspicions to change his admiration for the learned Italian Jesuit, who was Superior of the Society in the United States. But they undoubtedly differed on the property question which was Carroll's legacy to Archbishops Neale and Maréchal, and one fortunately that Dr. Carroll was never called upon to settle definitively. After his death, the Grassi-Kohlmann view of the old Jesuit Estates began to prevail among the members of the restored Society and for many years clouded the good name of all who shared in the controversy. But this cloud soon passed, and the re-established Society in its complete canonical form—the only restoration that Dr. Carroll would consider sympathetically — began its great work of education in the Church here.⁷² All the difficulties and misunderstandings of the

⁷¹ Hughes, *l. c.*, part i, p. 375.

⁷² Even the apostate Jesuit Wharton rejoiced in the restoration of the Society. In one of Father George Fenwick's letters to B. U. Camp-

Interim (1773-1806), of the Revival (1806-1814), and afterwards, appear negligible in the light of the Society's glorious conquest for Christ during the century which has intervened since that time.

PETER GUILDAY.

bell (April 26, 1844), there is a quotation from Wharton's correspondence, dated February 14, 1816, saying: "You ask my opinion respecting the restoration of the Order of Jesuits. I think it a great stroke of policy if not of justice in the Roman Pontiff. They were certainly the most enlightened and zealous champions of his authority. But what is much more to their credit, they formed unquestionably the most learned and exemplary Body of Clergy in the Roman Church. They had the *esprit de corps* to a high degree; but in other respects a more disinterested and virtuous community never existed. This is my testimony concerning them, and I know it is true." (*Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Special C, D 3.*)



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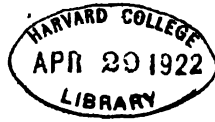
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No. 4

LETTERS OF FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK TO THE FAMILY OF GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN

1849 to 1863

CVI

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. ANTONY, (JUNE 13), 1860
Dear Mrs. Allen

I have just returned from the church of St. Francis of Assisium attached to the institution of the colored Oblates, established here for above thirty years. Thirty-six persons, chiefly children, were confirmed. I spoke to them of St. Antony, that they may take him as a special patron, and imitate his holy life and tender love of Our Lord. There are about twenty Sisters here, whose spiritual direction is entrusted to the zealous priests of St. Alphonsus. Two schools are taught, and much good is done among persons of color. The conduct of the inmates has been uniformly edifying.

You will not be surprised that I think of you, and yours, on this occasion (the feast of St. Antony). I hope you will

soon hear of the safe arrival of Heman in Europe. Your heart must necessarily be anxious.

We had a large confirmation at the Cathedral on Sunday. Doctor Chatard, whose confirmation had been neglected, edified us by presenting himself.

Remember me affectionately to Professor Allen and your good children, and believe me ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. ALLEN

Phila.

CVII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, AUGUST 13, 1860

Dear Mrs. Allen

I thank you for the interesting letter which you have written to me, as also for that which you have induced Professor Allen to write, giving me the particulars of Heman's progress. I trust you will continue to receive consoling news from him.

I am glad that you became acquainted with Bishop Duggan. Miss Starr has lately written to me, giving an account of his visit (in Philadelphia?), which pleased him much.

I am sorry I cannot meet you at the profession of Mary Doherty. If you can give her aunt some intimation of an accident, which has befallen Miss Eliza, without exciting too great alarm, it may be well, as her presence here is desirable as soon as possible after the profession. On Thursday last she (Miss Eliza?) fell from the counter, and, it is believed, broke a rib. She is nevertheless, sitting up in the store, and attends to business, with the assistance of some of the family, who occupy the upper part of the house. I learned of the accident only to-day.

Good Mr. Hollingsworth,¹ the Virginia convert, is in the last extremity. The conversion of Judge Wilkins of Cincinnati is reported, as also two other distinguished converts at Detroit and Louisville. Yesterday I confirmed fourteen converts at the Carroll Manor Chapel. Mr. Hammond, a man of some position was in the number. Some colored individuals may have been counted. The whole number confirmed was forty-eight.

Tell the Professor that I remain in his debt for a short time. Remember me affectionately to him and the children.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

(A. B.), *Archiepiscopus Baltimorensis*, is omitted in this letter.

MRS. ALLEN

CVIII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ST. AUGUSTINE (AUG. 28), 1860

Dear friend

I am very grateful for the details you furnish of the travels of Heman, and I trust you will continue to receive gratifying news from him.

You will be pleased to hear that my Scriptural labors are drawing to a close. The last volume is nearly through the press. If I republish, as is probable, the New Testament, I shall avail myself of your remarks. I have lately had a letter from Dr. Newman,² in which he states that he has been left in suspense in consequence of the absence and the illness of the Cardinal.³ My plan, being different, will

¹ Mr. Hollingsworth—See Letter XCVIII.

² Dr. Newman—John Henry, later, 1879, Cardinal Newman. For facts referring to this correspondence see *Kenrick-Fremaye Letters*, pp. 435-444-447-449.

³ Cardinal—Nicholas Wiseman.

scarcely interfere with his undertaking.⁴ The Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda has so far encouraged me as to acknowledge in courteous and flattering terms the receipt of the volumes (of the Bible) which I have published.

I write to Miss Julia on this her great festival. St. Augustine truly was an extraordinary Saint, admirable, perhaps more for the tenderness and effusion of soul with which he loved God, than for the force of argument with which he combated every form of error. I am always struck by his views on final perseverance, which, he tells us, cannot be merited by any works, but must be obtained by prayer. This thought is calculated to keep us humble, and stimulate us to prayer.

When you write to Herman remember me affectionately to him; and also writing to George. To Mrs. Allen present my kindest regards.

Ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEO. ALLEN

CIX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, 30 OCT., 1860

My dear friend

It is late to acknowledge your favor of the 20th inst. but I have only just returned from the mountains, where I have been engaged in a short visitation. I was called back to assist at the obsequies of the Very Revd. Francis L'homme, Superior of the Seminary, a priest of great piety.

I will take special interest in the edifying work of which you speak, and take a number of copies.

⁴ For account of Newman's plan for English Bible see *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 257; *Ward's Life of Newman*, pp. i, 418-429.

Murphy is slow to publish works unless their success is pretty certain. He is now publishing an important work by Judge Baine of California on the harmonious relations between Divine Faith and Natural Reason. The author is a convert. The previous work of Governor Burnett is greatly esteemed. This is likely to be very useful.

I am happy that you receive such pleasing news from Heman. It will delight me to receive a letter from him.

I am in receipt of communications from Miss Starr. I hope Miss Ellen Gardner will be led to follow her example.

A Scottish Baptist minister, who, at the commencement of the year, resigned his charge in this city, is likely to join us. He appears to be well informed and sincere. His grandmother was a Catholic.

I am resuming my visitation in three days, so that I shall postpone my answer to Professor Allen, to whom you will please make my acknowledgements. My love to your good children, Betsie and Julia, not forgetting George.

Your friend in X

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. PROF. ALLEN

CX

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, NOV. 21, 1860

Dear friend

I closed my Visitation last Sunday by confirming seventy colored persons with a few whites in Prince George's County. The pains taken by a pious lady to instruct them, and by old Father Dominic Young, a Dominican, born in the neighborhood, to prepare and dispose them was edifying, and their religious privileges⁵ appeared to advantage,

⁵ *Privileges*—refers apparently to the favor of individual slaveholders in granting instruction and rights of religion to the negroes.

as they nearly filled the church. This good priest (Father Young) with his uncle, Father Edward Fenwick, who shortly afterward was made first Bishop of Cincinnati, was charged with the missions of Ohio thirty-nine years ago, when I passed through it to Kentucky. It (Ohio) now has two Bishops and one hundred and eighty priests.

I am now in winter quarters, which, however, I must leave for a few days to consecrate the new Bishop of Pittsburg on the ninth of December. He felt great reluctance to consenting, but yielded to my advice.

I hope you continue to receive good news from Heman. His musical tastes⁶ will, I presume, be greatly improved by his sojourn in Germany. I am glad that his religious associations are agreeable. When you write to him remember me affectionately to him. Do not forget to send my love to George likewise. Misses Betsie and Julia of course must never be forgotten. Mrs. Allen will please accept my respects—Ever Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ALLEN
Phila.

CXI

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

FEAST OF ST. FRANCIS X—(DEC. 3), 1860—BALTIMORE

Dear Mrs. Allen

You may engage for me fifty copies of the forthcoming

⁶ Heman Allen died in Chicago, Jan. 27, 1893. He died a Catholic. His wife, Clara Niles of Dansville, Livingston Co., N. Y., was a convert. A notice of Mr. Allen's qualities as a musician will be found in *The Catholic Standard*, Feb. 25, 1893, quoted from *The New World*, Chicago. For further information see—"The *Convers Family and Allied Families*," vol. ii, pp. 795-6. References are given in this work for Heman Allen's musical accomplishments, to "*A Hundred Years of Music in America*."

work, which may be sent to me, with the bill, direct from the publishers.

Mrs. Connolly⁷ writes me from England that the devotion to St. Antony is much cherished in the Institute which she has founded in honor of the Childhood of Our Lord. She desires special prayers for the return of her poor husband to the Church. He was, no doubt, sincere and fervent for several years, until overtaken by temptation. Saint Paul warns us to guard against temptation, unless that which is inseparable from our frail state.

I am delighted that a happy death closed the career of Dr. Lajus.

I hope that George has the right side of the case, and that he will win. The profession which he has chosen is highly honorable, and furnishes many opportunities of good. Please give him my congratulations.

Miss Doherty has just returned from Philadelphia, where she spent some days, but was prevented by her indispositions from making many visits. She is not free from pain and suffering.

I trust that Miss Starr's hopes will be realized. The ways of God are mysterious.

I confirmed last Monday two brothers, Drs. Brewer of Annapolis and a lady. They had been for some time in the Church (not confirmed). The Baptist minister⁸ is not yet received. He purposes to spend some weeks in retreat at Georgetown to prepare well.

Remember me to Miss Julia. I must answer Miss Elizabeth's favor.

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN
Phila.

⁷ Mrs. Connolly — evidently Mrs. Cornelia Augusta Connelly, foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Child. See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 249, note.

⁸ See the "Scottish Baptist minister," in Letter CIX above.

CXII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

FEAST OF ST. FRANCIS X— (DEC. 3, 1860.) BALTIMORE

Dear friend

A conversation which a Bishop visiting New York had with Dr. Brownson prepared me for the last number of his Review. Some remarks made by Archbp. H. (ughes) at the distribution of premiums in one of the institutions irritated him (Brownson), as he took them as unjust to himself, and calculated to injure his Review. The article of Revd. Wm. J. Barry on Catholic Colleges gave occasion to the remarks of the Archbishop (Hughes), who claimed for Catholics more credit for literary effort than the writer gave them. Dr. B. replied on the occasion that the article was from the pen of an Irish C(atholic) priest, professor in one of our Colleges. He was mistaken in his nationality, since he (Barry) is a Carolinian; but he wrote with good intentions, and said nothing reprehensible. I do not think that the Archbishop means anything unkind; but Dr. B(rowson) took offense, and said, in the conversation above referred to, that such authority was a despotism, and that Dr. Forbes⁹ was not far wrong in stating that natural rights were trampled under foot in the C(atholic) Church. I hope he¹⁰ will have grace to retract his steps, which are evidently downward. *Res angustae domi* and several mortifying incidents have thrown him into a perilous state.

I am glad that Heman continues to give you so much satisfaction in his communications. The Continental churches are without fire; but many of them are, nevertheless, comfortable even in the depths of winter. St.

⁹ Dr. Forbes—John Murray Forbes, convert 1849—pervert 1859. See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 429, note.

¹⁰ he seems to refer to Brownson.

Peter's (Rome) is cool in summer, and not cold in winter. The services are generally short. The low Mass is very short, and no one is expected to stay long in the Church unless he can do so conveniently. The thickness of the walls and the heavy covering of the doors in winter keep out the cold. The dwelling houses on the Continent are less comfortable than ours, as the buildings are of stone, and few houses are carpeted or well supplied with fire. In this country we study comfort, or, at least, enjoy it.

Your faithful friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEO. ALLEN

Phila.

CXIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MARCH 13, 1861

Dear Mrs. Allen

I can not congratulate you on your being engaged in the Fair, since it is a troublesome business at best, and very trying to the patience and nerves. However, I hope you will get through with it, and gain great merit by your charity.

I thought George was a practicing lawyer some time since, but I suppose it was a mere *trial*. I hope he will be eminently successful. You are happy in having such good children, at home and abroad.

Miss Starr continues her contributions to the C(atholic) Mirror, and writes me very interesting letters, especially giving me her hopes regarding her good parents.

The death of Alexander Williamson interests me much. It so happens that a lady of the same name, married many years since to a Baltimore Catholic, is now near death.

She has been a fervent convert, highly intelligent, and is now awaiting the change (death) with great composure. I recommend her to your good prayers. I shall not fail to pray for the mother of Alexander.

We have had no remarkable conversions for some time, although occasionally individuals not known to fame find their way into the Church. The Baptist minister of whom I spoke to you some time ago, has gone in some other direction. I do not know that he has followed up his purpose. Some neglectful Catholics of position, one especially, the representative of a high family, have come to their duties recently. The individual in question presented himself in the church amidst the crowd at the Tribunal.

Please give my love to Misses Bessie and Julia, and do not forget me when you write to George.

With great respect I remain

Your friend and Svt.

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

CXIV

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MARCH 13, 1861

Dear friend

The only thing to be regretted in regard to the German¹¹ translation is that it is not deemed sufficiently modern in style. Father Steinbacher, though learned, is not familiar with the elegancies of German Literature, and sticks to the old form of the letters despite of all recent improvements. To these peculiarities is attributed the unsaleable character of the work, although, in one way or another I have got it all off my hands.

¹¹ German translation — refers evidently to Father Nicholas Steinbacher's German translation of "The Primacy".—See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, pp. 258-338-388.

You have entire liberty to transfer my gifts, so long as I retain your friendship.

I have made good use of your suggestions in preparing a new edition of the Gospels, although I have occasionally yielded to contrary influences on the part of Mr. Waldron or other sticklers for grammatical improvements. Dr. Ives kindly volunteered to revise the whole, having devoted much time to Scriptural studies, and I am about to send him the two volumes already wonderfully changed, especially by transferring the reference and critical notes to the bottom of the page. I do not hurry him with the revision, being willing to wait, now that the entire¹² work has been issued. If my summons comes in the meantime, my regret shall not turn to my incomplete work, but to my many shortcomings for eternity.

I am much pleased that Heman continues to display so religious a spirit, and I trust that he will always remain a devoted child of the Church. When you write to him do not fail to remember me affectionately.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Prussian Minister at Washington, Baron De Gerold, is an edifying Catholic. He is a ripe scholar likewise. It may interest you to learn that two priests, Bowling, O. P. and Hutchins were school mates of the President,¹³ and his two first cousins, Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Smith, are strict Catholics. His uncle, Lincoln, married Miss Mudd, a descendant of the Maryland family. Mr. Breckenridge attended the church of St. Aloysius, Washington, on Sunday last on occasion of a celebration by some schools, by invitation, I presume. Mr. Seward's¹⁴ mother was a Catholic. Yet little is to

¹² entire work—refers evidently to finished books of the Old Testament and the earlier issue of the New.

¹³ Lincoln.

¹⁴ Seward—probably William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Lincoln administration.

be hoped from men in high station, since few would worship with sacrifice of place.

I am pleased that something has occurred to make you break silence. The likeness of the Artist has reached me. I thank you cordially.

Your affect. friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEO. ALLEN

University of Penns'a.

CXV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, APRIL 11, 1861

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have just come from the holy altar, where to-day and yesterday your dear children were objects of special remembrance. Sweet Mary in all her innocence comes always to my mind. The recurrence of the birthday of Miss Betsie seems designed to console you for the loss of Mary. How sweet is this remembrance and communion with the departed and with the living, and how delightful the hope which it nourishes! God has given you great consolation in your excellent children.

I am pleased that your Fair has succeeded so well, although I can not advise you to engage again in the like, though it be, in its fashion, a work of mercy. Our charities are so multiplied that they are forced and objectionable.

I hope George will be an eminent Lawyer, as well as an excellent Christian. We have here several very practical Catholics of the profession, some of them converts. The Chief Justice,¹⁵ who no longer resides here, is most exemplary. He receives the Sacraments with great simplicity and edification.

¹⁵ Chief Justice—Evidently Roger Brook Taney. Chief Justice U. S. Supreme Court 1836-1864.

I hope Heman's health will become robust. The Baptist preacher, of whose advances I notified you, is not yet within the Fold: although he still visits Revd. T. Foley. Two brothers, physicians, Brewer, of Annapolis, were confirmed by me some months ago, of which I think I already made report.

I feel great sympathy for Dr. Huntington and his good lady. Converts are tried severely. But, in return for their sacrifices and privations, they will receive a crown. Affectionately remember me to Professor Allen and your good children. I remain his debtor. I long to hear good news of Miss Gray.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

MRS. M. E. ALLEN
Phila.

A. B.

CXVI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MAY 16, 1861

Dear friend

The edifying narrative of "The Three Sisters" relieved my mind for a time from the cares and perplexities of our situation. It is pleasing to see how God draws souls to Himself, and prepares them for a state of being in which nothing can produce pain or fear.

We are here in a most critical position. The unfortunate outbreak of the nineteenth¹⁸ ult. produced by sympathy for the South, leaves many, of respectable families, exposed to danger; and the measures of self-protection subsequently adopted involve even our City authorities. Ross Winans,

¹⁸ Outbreak of the nineteenth ult. refers quite evidently to a rising of the populace, and the beginnings of riot, on occasion of the arrival of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment in Baltimore on the way to Washington, April 19, 1861. Several soldiers were killed in the fray.

a member of the (State) Legislature, is now a prisoner in the Fort, and his son, Thomas, a most wealthy and beneficent citizen, expects soon to share his fate. Our City is filled with troops, who also occupy our highways and the capital of the State. The arrival of General Cadwallader, who is now in command, inspires hope that humanity will mark the conduct of the troops.

Hitherto no outrage has been committed, but the military occupation of the city made me fear that military executions might take place. The liberation of Mr. Spencer, a merchant, who avowed himself a party to the riot, warrants hope that clemency will prevail: but the arrest of Mr. Winans is alarming. His son is a man of unbounded wealth and beneficence. A table is prepared at his dwelling for all mechanics that may need a dinner, and soup is distributed to great numbers of the poor. His late wife, a French Catholic, died a few months ago, and enjoined on him to train her children Catholics, and to build a church at his summer residence for the domestics and neighbors. He is following out her intentions.

Remember me to Mrs. Allen and the children affectionately. And pray for us. I am by no means despondent. We have not been in any way molested.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ALLEN

Phila.

CXVII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, AUG. 12, 1861

Dear friend

I hasten to say that I have offered the Holy Sacrifice for Mr. George Edwards at the request of his sister during

the last week, and will do so again on Wednesday and Friday of this week. I hope he will be strengthened and comforted in the last struggle. Please express my sympathy.

I feel very much for Dr. Huntington. I hope the latest news from Heman is consoling. Miss Starr wrote that his health had been delicate, which you also had stated; but, as your last letter does not repeat the statement, I infer that better news has reached you.

I trust we shall all meet in heaven. "Many mansions"—room for all who cast themselves on the divine mercy, and look with confidence to our heavenly Father. You may well hope to see there your sweet and innocent Mary, and all your good children.

I am pleased that Professor Allen enjoys his vacation, and hope he will return renovated and strengthened for his duties in the University. I remember well the Bells, Tetes, Bosquets. The charity of the ladies towards a child of the name of Whelan is not forgotten. I shall pray as you desire. I hope Miss Gray has not given up all idea of becoming a Catholic. If you see her, please give her my respects, and express the great interest I feel in the one thing necessary.

Please say to Miss Betsy that I am quite well, and always mindful of my spiritual children. I shall hand her letter to Miss Eliza, when I see her, which may be very soon. I beg to be remembered to Prof. Allen, to Miss Julia, and to George and Heman when you write.

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

CXVIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, OCT. 14, 1861

Dear Mrs. Allen

On my return from Westminster, where I confirmed thirty nine persons yesterday, I received your favor of the eleventh inst., which gave me great pleasure. The recollection of so remarkable an event in your lives must be full of interest. I pray always that God may crown his good work with every blessing.

I visited, in the afternoon, yesterday, at a distance of six miles from the town (Westminster?) a colored family, consisting of three sisters, converts, and a brother, not yet converted, but well disposed. They were set at liberty by Mrs. Chapman at her death, and put in possession of eighty acres of land, in which they have a life interest. They are intelligent and well conducted. A Catholic lady, named Clottis, instructed and brought them to the Faith. Two were confirmed at the church, and the third at her house, which sickness prevented her from leaving. The kindness with which they are treated by neighbors is edifying. I spent the evening at the house of a respectable Catholic, formerly Clerk of the Court, whose wife and mother-in-law are converts. The old lady is about eighty. A few years ago she came to Baltimore and was received into the Church. She still retains her faculties, reads and converses with intelligence.

Another aged lady embraced the Faith at Uniontown a few years ago, and, after some time died with great piety. We have no men of recent date in that neighborhood, but Mr. Baker, the principal of Calvert College, is a convert of many years. I gave a copy of "The Three Converts" to a Catholic lady of an old family, of the the original settlers.

During my visit a company of Zuaves came in quest of

arms, sent by the State to the volunteers of the town. Two arrests were made, but the prisoners were released on delivering up the arms. Two sons of Mr. Livingston, a distinguished convert, from New York, are privates in the company.

We are greatly relieved from our apprehensions of calamities, which seemed impending, but we can not indulge entire security.

I am glad that Heman has recovered, and is pursuing his travels. George, I presume, is deep in the Law. Misses Bessie and Julia are at their prayers, emulous of the blessing of Mary who "chose the better part." Miss Starr wrote to me some time since, and I, of course, replied. Please give my love to all your good children at home and abroad.

The feast of St. Teresa draws me to Mt. Carmel, where I expect to see Sister Agnes Edwards, Sister M. Ignatius with the rest. They rejoice in celebrating her (St. Teresa's) memory, a great guide in sublime spirituality. Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen, and believe me ever with great respect

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN
Phila.

CXIX

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 4, 1861

Dear Mrs. Allen

I am grateful for your continued remembrance. I shall attend to your pious commissions. The beads are inclosed. I am glad to hear that George is likely to come to Washington. Heman, I presume, will soon return. You will then

be happy in having all your children near you. The privileged Mary is with her Heavenly Father.

If you chance to see Miss Gray please give her my respects. I long to hear of her entering into the Ark.

A literary, author of an essay on the figure and surface divisions of the earth, Samuel Elliott Coues, has lately been received at Washington. I confirmed his daughter about fifteen years of age, at the Convent ten days ago. Other converts were confirmed, especially at St. Aloysius', where the aged Father McElroy (eighty years old), with Father Sourin gave a retreat. The old man preached three times each day to immense audiences. The soldiers encamped in in the neighborhood attended in great numbers.

Please remember me affectionately to Professor Allen, and, when occasion offers, to his friend, Mr. Hoyt.¹⁷

I am glad that you derive edification from my reply to Dr. Hopkins. I wish he were equally edified. Controversial writing seldom convinces the adverse party. Prayer is more effectual. Let us continue to pray that truth may win new votaries.

I remain, Dear Friend,

Very sincerely yours in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

Phila.

CXX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, EPIPHANY — 62

Dear Mrs. Allen

On receipt of your last note I wrote to George, to the care of Mr. Fitzpatrick, and enclosed an introduction to

¹⁷ For Mr. Hoyt see note under Letter XCI above. See also *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 265 note.

Major Lee. Chief Justice Taney long since declined using any influence out of his own office. His age puts him now entirely out of the way. With the administration he has no influence. I hope George may be successful.

Affectionately remember me to Professor Allen, Misses Betsie and Julia, and to Heman when you write. Happy Festival.

Yours in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

MRS. MARY ALLEN

A. B.

CXXI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JAN. 13, 1862

Dear friend

The kindness of Major Lee is extraordinary, and his success equally so. He divides the praise with Major Gareschè, to whom I did not think of writing. I am happy in having served you. I hope George will enjoy health, and emulate the example of Major Gareschè, who is an exemplary Catholic. He is a cousin of Dr. Keating. Major Lee's mother, I believe, was a Catholic, and his wife is likewise. His convictions and attachments are the same. Gratitude for the interest I took in the recovery of his infant child is the occasion of his anxiety to oblige me. I was not able to serve him so effectually.

Dr. Ives gave us a delightful lecture last Monday evening. He has rendered me the same service as you did by revising the Gospels. I hope to put the New Testament to press very soon.

Mrs. Huntington writes to me from Pau (France). The Doctor¹⁸ is somewhat easier. but not likely to be strong.

¹⁸ The Doctor—Evidently Jedediah Vincent Huntington, Graduate in Medicine, U. P., 1838, convert to Faith 1849. He died at Pau, France, March 10, 1862. See *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 333, note.

They have been visited by Father Dubuisson, a Jesuit who was in this country for many years. He attended Mrs.¹⁹ Mattingly at the time of her wonderful recovery. Mr. Cooper of St. John's congregation (in Philadelphia) was received by him into the Church. The good priest is seventy six years of age, and infirm. For many years he has suffered from *insomnia*.

Ever your affe. friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEO. ALLEN
Phila.

CXXII

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JAN. 13, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

We are all taken by surprise. Major Lee has received my lines most kindly, and George is at once in a respectable position. Major Gareschè will continue to be his friend and to guide him by his example. I congratulate with you, and pray that you may receive great consolations in the opening year. We must pray for Major Lee that he may soon be practically what, I presume, he is already in belief. I really had no claims on his kindness, but the good will, which I had manifested for his child.

Affec. remembrance to Misses Betsie and Julia.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. ALLEN

¹⁹ For an account of the remarkable cure of Mrs. Ann Mattingly, Washington, D. C., 1824, March 10, see Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 85 et seq.

CXXII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, FEAST OF ANNUNCIATION,
(MARCH 25), 1862

Dear Professor

I enclose the introductory letters. I have not the pleasure of the acquaintance of Dr. Manning, but I called on Dr. Faber. He will, no doubt, give an introductory to Dr. Manning, if requested.

Please say to Mrs. Allen that I shall not forget good Mary on her coming anniversary.²⁰ I hope Heman will return safe and well. Please remember me affectionately to Miss Betsie and Julia.

I am glad George is so near Major Gareschè who is an excellent Catholic.

Ever your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK
A. B.

GEO. ALLEN Esq.
Prof. University Penna.

CXXIV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, EASTER MONDAY, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

I shall pray for the happy return of Heman, and trust that you will find him in good health and greatly improved by his travels.

The good sentiments of Miss Gray awaken hope that she will soon enter the Church. I will recommend her very earnestly to God.

²⁰ The anniversary of little Mary's death, Easter, 1852 (apparently Apr. 10). See Letters XII-XIII.

I condole with the Misses Merino on the loss of their mother, whom I will not fail to remember at the holy altar.

Affect^o remembrance to Prof. Allen and Misses Betsie and Julia.

Your devoted friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

Phila.

P. S. Mr. De Witt of Cincinnati was received into the church before his death. His wife is a devout Catholic.

CXXV

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, SEPT. 26, 1862

Dear friend

I thank you for your observations, which I note down in a blotted copy of the New Testament, in case I should ever republish it. The proof reader was very well qualified, but was astray in the aspirates, and I despaired of entire correctness. My anxiety to represent the text precisely in passages in which the Vulgate differs from the modern versions, induced me to adopt some awkward phrases. I can only promise to do better hereafter, should I publish another edition, which I do not hope.

I am sorry that the health of Heman is still delicate. I hope George will repair his fault to your full satisfaction.

Tomorrow I go to Marlboro, where two hundred are to be confirmed, of whom probably a dozen white persons are scarcely to be found. The daughter of Judge Gaston, Mrs. George Graham, lives in the neighborhood.

I am pleased that Dr. O'Hara is so little disturbed by the political movements. Here we are putting up the portico

of our Cathedral. It was undertaken before the war broke out, and cannot well be deferred. It is charity to employ the workmen.

Things are tranquil here, although a drayman was shoved into the river and drowned a few days ago because he offered a quarter dollar to a confederate prisoner, who, passing along, asked for tobacco. The Union feeling is intense where it exists. We long for peace, but no ray of hope appears as yet.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEORGE ALLEN

Phila.

CXXVI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, JUNE 3, 1862

Dear friend

I share your joy and that of Mrs. Allen on the safe arrival of Heman. You are truly blessed parents. I trust great blessings still await you in the spiritual progress and honorable career of both your sons, as well as in the tender devotion of your daughters.

Mr. Faber suffers from a disorder of the blood, which must have been the cause of his momentary hesitation to see Heman, but it manifested still more strikingly his kindness. Mr. Maller is very kind and intelligent, and remembers affectionately his friends on this side of the Atlantic. I shall be pleased to receive his letters, if Heman recovers his trunk. It is not likely that it is other than an expression of regard.

I hope to see George in the early part of July, when I

am to visit Washington. Give my love and gratulations to Heman and all.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROF. GEO. ALLEN

Phila.

CXXVII

[To MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, SEP. 26, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

You were very fortunate in selecting St. Bernard and St. Francis for your patrons. St. Bernard is, I would say, a charming Saint. He is so sweet, or, as they say, mellifluous. His words go to the heart, and kindle the love of God and neighbor. His devotion to the Blessed Virgin is as tender as that of St. Alphonsus, and yet following directly from the mystery of the Incarnation. St. Francis is styled Seraphic on account of the ardor of his love for Christ. I hope you will have all the consolation you anticipate in your children. God's grace and blessing can make them all you wish. Bessie and Julia and Heman give you great comfort, and George and his wife will, I trust, prove most devoted.

I am on the point of making a short Visitation in a place not the seat of war, although it has suffered from the general excitement. We are here tranquil and secure. Remember me affect'ly to your good children, and believe me ever,

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. ALLEN

CXXVIII

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, NOV. 11, 1862

Dear friend

Although I take a large sheet to answer your inquiries, I have little to write. I do not know any author who has treated the subject of the hymns professedly in detail. A volume of the "*Encyclopedie Theologique*" published by Migne, and styled "Liturgie," has an article under the title of *Hymnes*, in which he states (it is stated) that hymns were not adopted in the Roman Liturgy before the tenth century, although some were used as far back as the days of St. Ambrose, as St. Augustine testifies.²¹ He quotes:

"Hoc ipso, petra Ecclesiae
Canente, culpam diluit."

—Retract L. I., c. 21.

This is found in the hymn: "Aeterne rerum Conditor," which is ascribed to St. Ambrose on his (Augustine's) authority. St. Hilary of Poitiers and Prudentius are celebrated as authors of hymns. Charlemagne gets the credit of having composed the "Veni Creator," which others ascribe to St. Ambrose. King Robert of France wrote "O constantia Martyrum," which, however, is not in the Breviary, unless perhaps greatly changed. Pope Innocent III

²¹ See also *Augustine's Confessions*, bk. IX, c. 12.

"Recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii tui: Tu es enim—

Deus Creator omnium
Polique rector vestiens
Diem decore lumine
Noctem soporis gratia.

Artus solutos ut quies
Reddit laboris usui
Mentesque fessas allevet
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Cf. also *De Beata Vita*, Cap. XXXV, where lines from the same hymn are quoted by Saint Monica.

is thought to be the author of "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" ²² and "Ave Mundi Spes, Maria." So states Natalis Alexander. The latter hymn is not in the Breviary. St. Bernard is said to be the author of the hymn at Lauds for the feast of the Transfiguration. St. Thomas Aquinas of the prosa "Lauda, Sion, Salvatorem". James de Benedictis, a Franciscan of the thirteenth century also get credit for the hymn "Stabat Mater Dolorosa," although most probably without cause. Wimpfeling, an author of the fifteenth century, quoted by Du Pin, ascribes to St. Ambrose the introduction of hymns into the Church service, and the authorship of "Conditor Alme Siderum," and "Veni, Redemptor Gentium". Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers in the sixth century is said by him to have composed "Quem Terra, Pontus, Sidera" and "Vexilla Regis"—"Crux Fidelis". This is ascribed (also?) to Theodulph of Poitiers. The former hymn is still used in the office of the B. Virgin. Paul Waneфриd, the Deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino in the ninth century, is said to be the author of "Ut Queant Laxis" and other hymns. Sedulius, in 430, of "A Solis ortus cardine". St. Thomas of Aquin: "Pange Lingua Gloriosi Corporis Mysterum". Peter Bolandus: "Stabat ad Lignum Crucis". This may be the "Stabat Mater". The prose: "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" is ascribed to King Robert. Probably this is the same as: "Veni Sancte Spiritus, et emitte coelitus." Herman Contractus, an author of the eleventh century, is, however, believed to have composed this *prose* or *sequence* as it is called, whilst Robert gets credit for "Victimae Paschali". Cardinal Ursini or Frangipani, a Dominican of the thirteenth century is said to have composed "Dies Irae, Dies Illa". Benedict XIV, De Sacr. Missae, Sect. 1, CXXIII, records these statements and refers them to

²² Attributed also to Giacomone da Todi and to St. Bernard.

Le Brun, Tom. I, p. 210. He (Le Brun) has written on these matters: "Explication de ceremonies de la Messe" in 1716. "Gloria Laus et Honor", sung on Palm Sunday, is said to have been composed in prison by Theodulph, and cast forth to Bernard King, as he was passing. Gregory the Great is said to be author of the hymn of Matins on Sunday. "Primo die quo Trinitas", also at Vespers: "Lucis Creator, Optime". Ambrose gets credit for the hymn of Saturday, and, in general, for the hymns sung at Lauds and Matins in the ferial office, with some exceptions. Prudentius of Saragossa, in 348, is author of hymns for Lauds, feria 3-4-5. The hymns of the little hours are ascribed to St. Ambrose: as also Vesper hymns generally. He gets credit for the Advent Hymn at Lauds, Lent hymn: "Ex more docti mystico". Twelve hymns are confidently ascribed to him. Fortunatus is esteemed the author of "Pange lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis" and of "Lustra sex qui iam peregit", both sung in Passion time. The author of the Paschal hymn: "Ad regias Agni dapes" is unknown. "Aurora coelum purpurat" on Sunday in Albis is ascribed to St. Ambrose, as also the Vesper hymn on Ascension day: "Salutis humanae Sator," and the hymn at Matins: "Aeterne Rex altissime": The hymn at Matins on Whit Sunday: "Jam Christus astra ascenderat." St. Hilary gets credit for the hymn at Lauds: "Beata nobis gaudia". Elpios, wife of Boetius, is reputed authoress of the hymn: "Decora lux aeternitatis," sung on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul: also of the hymn for St. Peter ad Vincula: "Miris modis repente liber". Ladies and kings have contributed to our Church service. St. Ambrose is said to have composed the hymn at Matins for the feast of Apostles:

"Aeterna Christi munera."

He also composed the hymn for the anniversary of the consecration of churches. St. Bernard is author of "Ave

maris stella." Fortunatus gets the credit of other hymns in honor of the B. Virgin.

I derive these particulars from a book called *Praxis Divini Officii iuxta ritum Romanum*, Leodii, 1780, which states them without giving vouchers. Cellier says that it is beyond a doubt that St. Ambrose is author of several hymns. He quotes his own authority, testifying that he comforted his people with their recital on occasion of the persecution of the empress Justina (*Serm. de Basilicis*). On the authority of St. Augustine he claims for him the hymns: "Deus, Creator omnium", and "Jam surgit hora tertia". A Roman Synod in 430 ascribes to him "Veni Redemptor gentium". Cassiodore also quotes it as his, as well as "Illuminans Altissimus" and "Orabo mente Dominum". Bede quotes "Aeterna Christi munera". Hincmar of Rheims quotes "Sommo reffectis artubus" and "Consorts paterni luminis" and "O Lux, Beata Trinitas". St. Ildefonse ascribes to him (Ambrose) "Fit porta Christi pervia". Of these twelve hymns several are still used, though somewhat changed. The "*Te Deum Laudamus*" is not thought to be his; but it is ancient, and spoken of by the Rule of St. Benedict.

This is all I have been able to gather about the hymns of the Breviary. Some of the Oxford school remark that the composers were lost sight of when their hymns were adopted by the Church to express her praise and thanksgiving. The modern hymns are composed by unknown individuals. Santeul composed many of the hymns of the Parisian Breviary, which are admired, but have not the *unction* of the old hymns. Many of them have been translated at Oxford.

It may amuse you to learn that Charles W. Shields²² has sent me his *Manual of Worship* intended for the army, with

²² This appears to be Charles Woodruff Shields, a teacher at Princeton, the author of "*Philosophia Ultima*" (1861). He wrote also some selections of prayers and worship.

a pressing letter asking my recommendation of it, which he sought to secure by obtaining letters from the widow of Judge Kane and the wife of General Kane. Forms of worship (in the Manual?) were formerly distasteful to the Presbyterians. Please excuse the interlineations. I will receive your emendations very gratefully.

Your affectionate friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

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CXXIX

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, NOV. 11, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

I wrote so long a letter to the Professor that I must be brief in my reply to your favor. I will attend to your commissions. Miss Starr's letter enclosing two pieces of poetry came to hand with yours. She writes in good spirits, although out of humor with the Southern Ladies, who claim all religious sympathies, admitting nothing good or pious in northern regions. This sentimentality and exclusiveness are incidents of these unhappy times. But we must hope for a return of Christian charity and brotherhood. The ladies are the most unruly politicians. I mean, of course, those of the South. My experience in the North was very favorable. I have just returned from Washington where I confirmed several converts. Remember me affectionately to your good children, and believe me

Your sincere friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

²⁴ The "address" to George Allen is omitted—there was no room on lower margin.

CXXX

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, THANKSGIVING DAY,²⁵ 1862*Dear friend*

I thank you very sincerely for your corrections, of which I most willingly have availed myself. I have an Atlas Classica published by Wilkinson, London, besides the modern maps of Mitchell; and examine them frequently, but unfortunately took the French annotator²⁶ as authority for the relative site of Corinth—au midi d'Athènes. Rollin puts Megara in Attica, and mentions Corinth with Sicyon and Patras as chief cities of Achaia. Johnson and Walker give *oraculously*, the former quoting authorities as usual: but I have changed it. Rollin says that Mitylene was the chief city of Lesbos.

"Fast and post" are in the Prot(estant) Version, and in the Revised Version of the A * union, and I have not found better phrase. For the rest I have adopted all your suggestions, and corrected my blunders. The Archbishop of Cincinnati has recommended my version, which gives hope, unless some other Archbishop opposes the innovation. The reference to Cesar is: Bell. Civil. L. i, c. 13-22-25. Bloomfield probably was my guide.

Since writing on hymnology I found in the Cathedral Library, which has many rare books, a Breviary Mozarabic published at Madrid in 1775 by authority of the Archbishop of Toledo. It is beautifully printed in a folio volume, and is in a perfect state of preservation. It differs greatly from our Breviary, since it has not so many Psalms: but it abounds in very long Lessons from Scripture, and lengthy hymns, some of them such as we have, but in an improved

²⁵ Marked in lead pencil Nov. 22^d in a neat lady's hand.

²⁶ Marked at foot of sheet: De Vence, not Calmet.

* A. probably refers to "*Anglican Union*."

style. The Prayers are very generally addressed to Our Lord Jesus Christ. The Latin is inferior to our Breviary. I believe it is still used in the Church of Toledo, which has a similar Missal, published by authority of the great Ximenes, who wished to preserve the memory of the ancient rite of Spain in the midst of the Moorish invaders. The hymn of St. Ambrose "Aeterne rerum Conditor" is in this Breviary with but slight variations. Alleluia is sung in Masses for the dead, but omitted in Lent and on fast days generally. The reason given for using it (Alleluia?) is singular—*Semper Laus eius in ore meo*.

You need not fear that I am going to overwhelm you with extracts. We have several Anglican divines in the Library—Bull, Sherlock, Warburton, Secker, Paley, Bingham and many others. A work styled "An Antidote to Deism" by Revd. Uzal Ogden is marked in the handwriting of Archbishop Carroll as (having been) *presented by the Revd. Author*. We have a host of rigid Protestants, Calvin at the head, followed by Zwingle, Wolfgang, Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger, and I know not how many others. Perhaps I should not include Melancthon in the list of rabid writers. Grotius, Leibnitz, Puffendorf are here: and as for Bibles, we have them of all kinds and sizes, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, with Walton's Polyglot. Besides the first edition of the Rhenish Testament, and the Douay Bible of which we have several copies, we have Fulke's²⁷ N. T. and notes. But I must stop. It would not do to speak of the fifty-four folios of the Bollandistes, Encyclopedias, etc.

I am pleased at the prospect of Heman's health improving. I hope that Betsie and Julia keep well. The withdrawal of Col. Gareschè was, I presume, not at his own re-

²⁷ Fulke's—Probably William Fulke, an English Puritan of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of his works is, "A defense of the sincere and true Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English tong."—1583.

quest: but I am confident he will fulfill his duty on the battlefield as well as in his former office. I met General Stone²⁸ at Mr. Graham's near Marlboro, and found him a very agreeable gentleman and devout Catholic. It is generally understood that he has been badly treated. No communication of the charges has ever been made to him, and he is still unemployed. I have understood that he asked for a trial by court martial, but pretexts for refusal are never wanting. Sigel is not a Catholic.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Allen and the children, and believe me ever,

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROFESSOR GEO. ALLEN

P. S. I give Bloomfield²⁹ credit on p. 573, note 4 for a passage which I have found since in Estius. *Permixtione sapientiae saecularis, aut Judaicae doctrinae corrumpunt et vitiant, aut certe, in eo ministrando, non Dei gloriam quaerunt, sed suis commodis obsequuntur, quae dum captant, ab hominibus placere iis volunt, et ut placeant Dei verbum ab eorum effectus accommodant.* The coincidence is remarkable.

In my first edition the reference to Caesar³⁰ is Bell. civ. 1—25. The printer mistook civ. for 104 and dropped

²⁸ General Charles Pomeroy Stone—had been removed from actual command under McLellan apparently on account of a defeat at Balls Bluff, Oct. 21, 1861. Stone was finally exonerated, and served with honor to the end of the war. Died in New York City, Jan. 24, 1887.

²⁹ This note will be found in the "Second Edition, Revised and Corrected," of the New Testament, Baltimore, 1862, page 573 as given here. The Introduction is dated May, 1862. The footnote refers to Corinthians, second epist., chap. IV, vers. 2.

³⁰ This note will be found, probably the one referred to, l. c. page 452, footnote to Acts, chap. XXVIII, vers. 30.

one (1). I have verified the quotation which is found in the thirteenth chapter of the first book on the Civil War, with 25 in the margin, marking the sectional division. Speaking of *rates* he says: "Has quaternis anchoris ex quatuor angulis destinabat ne fluctibus commoverentur"—Deo gratias!

CXXXI

[TO GEORGE BERNARD ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 5, 1862

Dear Professor

I am more than thankful for your suggestions. I have reformed the translation of Mark, X-II, and struck out the note. The³¹ text has *ἐν ἑαυτῇ*. Schott renders it "in illam." The Syriac and several ancient versions, and some manuscripts of a secondary class omit the words, which Schott suspects to have been an attempt at correction. St. Chrysostom and Theophylact understood it of the second woman. The latter in the Latin version, published at Basle in 1554, reads the text:³² "adulterium committit adversus illam"; but in the explanation says: "adulter est eius, scilicet, secundae". I have not been able to verify the reference to St. Chrysostom. The Arabic has as the Vulgate³³ here translated "with". The Rhemish has "upon"; Challoner "against"; Widham "in regard of her". Lingard maintains the Rhemish version.

The Preface to Epistle to Philemon was prefixed in the same terms to the first edition printed in 1851, before I

³¹ The text in question is "Et ait illis: Quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam, et aliam duxerit adulterium committit super eam."—Mark, X, 11. The *alia* quam duxerit would, of course, be the "second woman".

³² A footnote in the letter qualifies this expression, thus: Critici Sacri—"Super", "in", "adversus".

³³ The manuscript is interlined and corrected here. I am guessing at the meaning.—F. E. T.

left Philadelphia. I think it expresses what I stated in the Moral Theology, although not so fully. It was written under no local influence, and without any reference to politicians.*

I have not the first volume of the first edition, in which I may have followed Bancroft, Voltaire, and others, who praise Alexander III as tearing up slavery by the roots, by forbidding Christians to be held in bondage. Carriere set me right, and I extracted the decree itself from the third Council Lateran, at which that great Pope presided in the year 1179: "Ne Judaei, sive Saraceni Christiana mancipia in bonis suis permittantur habere." The Church always regarded the moral danger of the slave, rather than his civil degradation, and took such measures as were then in her power to remove or lessen them. Possibly moral influence might prove more successful than force of arms or even constitutional and legal provisions for abating this social evil. If the few ecclesiastical laws, which regard the marriage of slaves, and their natural rights were supported by civil sanctions, and the separation of families prevented, a great advance would be made toward their final liberation. As things are, the close of the century seems to be the earliest period for that happy consummation. So says the oracle.

I will receive your remaining notes with great thankfulness. You need not hurry, as there is no likelihood of a new edition soon. I correct, nevertheless, all mistakes as I discover them.

Your obliged friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

PROFESSOR GEO. ALLEN

University of Penns^a.

* The allusion is evidently here to contemporary anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

CXXXII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, DEC. 5, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

I thank you for your kind congratulations, and wish you in return all blessings. You should not let the peace of your mind be disturbed, but you should cherish filial confidence in God.

The nuns of New Orleans are Ursulines. One of them is Miss Dot.(?) Lopez of Phila. She is the only one with whom I am acquainted. I hope your daughter in law will soon follow the example of her aunt. It often happens that converts devote themselves to God in religious communities. Miss Johnson, formerly of Germantown, is Mother of Novices at Mount de Sales (Baltimore), and is distinguished for fervor.

We have just lost Charles Carroll, grandson of the patriot. He attended to his religious duties several years before his death, and received the last Sacraments. He was a Philadelphian. His mother was of the Chew family. Basil Spalding, an excellent Catholic, in in danger of death.

Give my love to all your good children, and believe me

Your devoted friend and sevt.

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

CXXXIII

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, MARCH 2, 1863

Dear Mrs. Allen

I have great pleasure in sending you the trifle I have now in hand, only ten dollars, towards the organ, which you are aiding Mrs. Smally to procure for the church in St. Albans. I regret it is not much more.

Some time ago I received an opinion delivered by Judge Smally with regard to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. I presumed that Mr. S. had been promoted. When you have occasion I will thank you to give my respects to Mr. Hoyt,* whom I remembered with much pleasure. I am glad that George has retraced his steps, and promises to be a devoted child of the Church henceforward. His example will be the best means for drawing Mrs. Allen to our communion.

I heard, a few days ago, from Miss Starr. She is recovering her strength, but is anxious about her mother. I hope the Professor will soon get rid of his cold. Remember me affly. to him, as also to Heman and George. I write to Miss Elizabeth, whom I charge to give my love to Miss Julia.

Miss McBlair, a convert of some years standing, has just received the announcement of the death of her brother, a Naval Captain in the Confederacy. She is the only one (of the family) who became a Catholic, although another brother was married to Miss Walsh of Philadelphia. The convert is very intelligent and devoted, and has succeeded in raising a fund of about one thousand dollars for a Charity Hospital, which we hope soon to open. Lady Stafford * gave some property for the same object; but it is of no actual value. It is expected that a wealthy gentleman will give a house and large grounds.

I remain Dear Mrs. Allen,
Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

Phila.

* Mr. Hoyt—William Henry Hoyt, with his family, convert in 1846, later ordained priest. For identity see *Kenrick-Frenaye Letters*, p. 265.

* For identity of Lady Stafford see note under Letter LXXVIII.

CXXXIV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

BALTIMORE, 12 MAY, 1862

Dear Mrs. Allen

On coming out of retreat, which lasted from 5" inst. till this morning, I received your favor of the 10" inst. I had thought of good Mary and your family during that time, although I had forgotten the precise day of her birth. I always feel a great interest in all your family. I hope that George and Heman will recover perfectly and continue devoted. I had not heard of the death of Young Mr. Chandler. I am glad that Mr. Hoyt's third son is so edifying. I have high respect for his excellent father. I will offer my Mass for you on the 13" of June, if I remember it. It will be your fault if I should forget it.

Father McElroy, S. J. conducted our retreat. He is eighty-one years of age: yet he spoke at considerable length above two hours, nearly three each day. giving us the mediations, and exhorting us to holiness of life. His voice was strong, his senses are perfect; and scarcely any of the infirmities of age are perceptible. It is thirty-four years since I first saw him at Frederick. He is truly a man of God. Thirty-six clergymen were under his direction during the retreat.

I have not heard lately from Miss Starr, but presume I shall soon have a letter.

Mr. Cutts of Washington, father of Mrs. Douglass was received into the Church before his death. Gen'l Whipple was a Catholic the last years of his life.

Remember me affectionately to the Professor and to your good children and believe me

Ever your friend in X—

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN
Phila.

CXXXV

[TO MRS. ALLEN]

(BALTIMORE) FEAST OF ST. ANTONY OF PADUA

(JUN. 13),²⁵ 1863*Dear Mrs. Allen*

I recommended earnestly your pious desires at the holy Altar to Our dear Lord, and trust that they may be gratified through the merits of the Divine Victim. There is much devotion here to your favorite patron (St. Antony). Many received Holy Communion at the various Masses. Several also performed the devotion of the nine Tuesdays.

We have just had a retreat in the Cathedral congregation. Father Ed. Welch, a convert, a native of Boston, and a Jesuit moreover, gave the exercises in conjunction with Father B. Maguire. A cousin of the former is exercising the Episcopal (Episcopalian?) ministry here, and is somewhat leaning towards Catholicity. He was visited by Father Welch.

From a letter from London I learn that the Provincial of the Passionists (a Protestant Order) has recently receded to Rome. He was received by the Oblates.²⁶ I do not know how far that institute imitates the real Order (the Congregation of the Passionists). We have not had any remarkable converts here for some time past. Please remember me affectly. to the Professor and all your good children. I cannot forget the happy one (little Mary) on this festival.

Your devoted friend

FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK

A. B.

MRS. MARY H. ALLEN

Phil

²⁵ This date is less than one month before Kenrick's death, July 6 or 7, 1863. Note how tenderly he still treasures the memory of little Mary, nearly twelve years after her death — Easter Sunday, April 10, 1852.

²⁶ Probably Oblates of St. Charles, established by Henry Edward Manning at Bayswater, during the fifties for the revival of religious community and missionary work.

CONVERTS.

A list of Converts named in Kenrick's Letters to the Allen Family. The Roman numeral in this list indicates the Letter or Letters in which the name may be found as arranged in the RECORDS.

Abercrombie, Miss—Granddaughter of late representative of British Government	LV
Alliston, Miss of North Carolina, later Mrs. Lavender, New York	LXXXIX
Armor—A lawyer of Frederick, Maryland	LX
Baine—Judge of California	CIX
Baker, Francis Augustine, later one of five original founders of the Congregation of St. Paul	XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV
Bayley—widow of Judge Bayley of Cambridge, Maryland...	LIX
Brent—Lawyer of Alexandria, Virginia	LV
Brewer—two brothers, physicians in Annapolis, Maryland ..	CXI
Burnett (Peter Hardeman), Governor of California	CIX
Buzby—with wife and eleven children at McSherrystown, Pa.	I
Carpenter, General—of Rhode Island, and his two daughters.	LXXIII
Caswell—from Massachusetts	XLIV
Clark—Judge of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, his two daugh- ters and son	I
Coues, Samuel Elliot, Geographer at Washington, also his daughter	CXIX
Cooper—Mr. of St. John's, Philadelphia	CXXI
Cutts—father of Mrs. Douglass, Washington, D. C.	CXXXIV
Dyson—Doctor—His wife was sister of the wife of George P. A. Healey, portrait painter of Boston and Chicago.	LXXV
Deshon, Lieut. (George), later one of original Paulist Con- gregation	XXXVII
De Witt—Mr. of Cincinnati	CXXIV
Fairbank—a librarian in Boston, Massachusetts	XLIV
Forbes, John Murray, priest in New York, 1850 to 1859; later pervert	III
Green—a lawyer, Troy, New York	XLIV
Guthrie, and wife from Virginia	XCI
Hall, Norman, of Columbia, Maryland	XXXIX
Hall, Norman, of Marietta, Maryland—probably the same ..	XLII
Hammond—confirmed in Carroll Manor Chapel, Aug. 12, 1860	CVII
Hewitt, Nathaniel Augustine—later Paulist Superior General.	XXXV

Hillon—Thomas and Solomon	LXXIII
Hillon—the widows of the above	LXXIII
Hoffman—of Frederick, Maryland, a convert about 1857 ...	LXXXI
Hollingsworth, Cyrus of Virginia	XCVII, CVII
Hopkins—aged Quaker (89) of White Marsh, Maryland; his wife also convert	LVII
Hoyt, William Henry	note—LXXVI
Huntington, Jedediah Vincent	note—CXXI
Ives, Levi Silliman—formerly Bishop of North Carolina ..	XXII—XXV
Langton	XLII—XLIII
Lavender, Mrs., of New York, formerly Miss Alliston	XCVIII
Law—son of ex-chancellor of Bath and Wells in England LXXXIII and LXXXVII	
Lyman, Dwight	XXXVI
Major, Henry	LXXII, LXXIX, LXXXV
Mason, Sarah	XCIV
McBlair	CXXXIII
McLane—three daughters	XCIV
McLeod—Donald Xavier	III
Muse, Mrs., of Cambridge, Maryland	LI
Nelligan or Neligan, William Hayes—Irish, but studied in Baltimore Seminary, later in the Bahamas	LIX—LX
O'Connor, More—from North of Ireland; later in diocese of Halifax, N. S.	CV
Poe, Mr., of Georgetown, D. C.	LXVII
Poe—his daughter	LXVII
Preston, Thomas—later Mnsgr. Chancellor of Diocese of New York	III
Roby, Mrs.—Boston, Sister of Miss Sharp	LI
Roysten—merchant, Baltimore, came into the Church influ- enced by example of his wife, who was also earlier a convert	XXVII
Ryder [George Dudley]—son of bishop of Litchfield, Eng- land	LX
Sharp—Miss, daughter of Baptist minister, Boston	LI
Shaw, Olive [Oliver] A., formerly at All Saints church, Philadelphia	XXXII
Smith, Miss, niece of Commodore Smith	LXVIII
Snively—a student at Lancaster or Mercersburg, Pa.	L
Starr, Eliza Allen	LIII
Spencer, Serena, Philadelphia	LIV
Stewart, Mrs.	LXXIV
Stoutenberg—of Alexandria	LXXXI
Waldron, Edmund Quincy Sheaf, priest in Philadelphia, later in Baltimore, a convert 18 years in 1859	XCIII

Welch, Ed., S.J.	CXXXV
Welch, Dr. Robert Smith	XXXIX
Whipple, General	CXXXIV
Wilkins, Judge of Cincinnati	CVII
Williamson	LXXXI
At the "Mountain church", out from Conewago, a German Reformed Elder with wife and several children	I

Other names of known converts occur in the Letters, as Barlow, Penniman, Smalley, but without direct evidence or the positive statement of conversion.

CONRAD ALEXANDRE GERARD AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

IT is to the late Benjamin Franklin Stevens, noted bibliographer, native of Vermont, who lived and worked in London and Paris from 1860 to the time of his death in 1902, that America is indebted for the inauguration of a system which is now placing the leading documents relative to American history at the disposal of students in this country.

This was all the more necessary since early historians had taken only a partial view of the subject, and their works, designed to be considered in themselves authoritative, give the reader no clue that permits verification.

In his *Conclusion*, written as preface to the XXVth. and Index volume of his famous *Facsimiles*, B. F. Stevens speaking of the opposition which he encountered when the matter came before Congress, writes: (p. xvi, 1.10-16) "The Chairman of the sub-committee briefly repeated the historian's¹ arguments to the effect that the history of the United States had been carefully written; that it was a pity to give the rising generation references to the chapter and verse of original authorities, as the simple fact of such references implied a possible absence of accuracy in the quotations or conclusions, and that the Government need not incur expense by adopting the plan. . . ."

The project of the *Facsimiles* was however too widely popular among American scholars to be thus

¹ An earlier allusion, p. ix, 1.10-12, indicates clearly that this historian was none other than George Bancroft.

easily set aside. 200 copies, each reproducing 2,107 documents relating to the American Revolution, were given to the public, and are now available in all the great historical libraries of the United States. One unbound copy, particularly valuable to students, is retained in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress.

These *Facsimiles* are however only part of the treasure made available to students of Colonial and United States history, through the efforts of this great, but almost unknown American.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress possesses in addition to the above:

1. The *Stevens's French Alliance Transcripts*, covering the correspondence (1778-1782) between Vergennes and the French Ministers, Gérard, La Luzerne, and Marbois 5,688 folio pages.
2. The *Stevens's Peace Transcripts*, (1782-1784) 5,280 folio pages; and, most stupendous of all.
3. The *Stevens's Catalogue Index*, of Manuscripts in the Archives of England, France, Holland, and Spain, in which 163,000 documents relating to America for the period, 1763-1783, are summarized, located, and given their proper dates. The whole is contained in 180 folio, manuscript volumes.

It is a self-evident fact that the part played by Catholics as Catholics, in the drama of the American Revolution, has been everywhere consistently ignored by historians. The remedy to this defect lies in a study of the documents themselves. It has been with a desire to give the Catholic Church its true place in the story of American Independence, that the present studies have been undertaken. The Gérard Correspondence upon which they have been made, covers the

period between July 1778, the date of his arrival in America, and October 1779, when he was released because of illness from his difficult post. Without doubt, this was one of the most critical periods through which the country passed, and it cannot be denied that it was owing to the sagacity of this first diplomatic representative to our shores, that we passed it in safety.

Conrad Alexander Gérard had already served with distinction in many diplomatic posts at different European Courts, when he was called, in 1774, to be First Secretary to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Comte de Vergennes. All along he had been a deep student of history as well as a keen observer of men. He spoke fluently several languages. It was his knowledge of English which immediately brought him into prominence when the French Government found itself confronted by the American Commissioner's demands for aid to the revolted Colonies of Great Britain. It was he who drew up and signed with Franklin, Deane, and Lee the Treaties of Amity and Commerce (February 6, 1778) that gave a completely new aspect to the war. As a reward for these services he was sent as first French representative to America.

In personal characteristics, Gérard, while a Frenchman to the core, was in many respects the exact opposite of what a Frenchman is supposed to be; that is, he was modest, retiring, self-controlled, patient and tireless, cautious and persistent. A practical and even devout Catholic, his first act toward setting his new establishment on a firm foundation, was to arrange with the Commander of the fleet which brought him to America, for a "good-living priest, who should reside at the Legation of the King."

From the first Gérard won the respect and esteem of the shrewd delegates to Congress, and he in turn gave

them his sincere friendship. Before he left America many honors were conferred upon him. He was elected member of the American Philosophical Society, was given a degree from Yale University, while Congress demanded as token of its esteem, that he sit for his portrait, which latter now graces the original hall, carefully preserved at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia.

THE bitter anti-Catholic and anti-French propaganda that in 1778 swept everything before it throughout England and Scotland, and which, intensified by party strife, filled the Tory papers in America, was but the natural and perfectly logical outcome of the imperial policy which had been pursued by England for more than two hundred years.

From the moment when, almost without human agency, the terror caused by the Spanish Armada was dispelled, Protestant England, feeling herself protected by Heaven, set about with grim earnestness putting her house in order so that she might be free to pursue her evidently imperial destiny. England's earlier dream of imperializing Europe had vanished long before the accession of the Tudors. But with them came the vision of easy conquests beyond the western seas; visions that had been opened up to the eyes of all Europe by the wonderful discoveries of Columbus. In that vast and unexplored region, the three rival maritime powers, Spain, England, and France, could each find, doubtless, ample scope for individual enterprise, though eventually a conflict between them would be inevitable.

The first clash occurred between Spain and England. To the question of maritime supremacy was added that of Catholic or Protestant succession. England dominant on the seas meant English Protestantism dominant, and that meant bitter dissension and division. To silence opposition, and to quell the rising storm, a ruthless policy was pursued;

for England must be united at home if her imperial destiny was to be fulfilled. To accomplish her work abroad a submissive people was necessary, ruled in things spiritual by bishops whose appointment and dismissal depended upon the sovereign authority of the Crown, and not upon that of the Holy See in Rome. The result was that England created a church of her own, which, at first groping under Henry VIII and Edward VI, was definitely *established* under Elizabeth. This, on the one hand; on the other, the rights of the common people were suppressed; the privileges that they enjoyed under Rome when England was "Merry England" and not an empire with a destiny, were taken from them; the revolt of the Irish was met by the odious measure of the "Ulster Plantation" which still today bears its bitter fruit.

For two hundred years, then, we have Ireland always at bay, always ready for revolt; in England herself, the danger of a reaction toward Rome always imminent; and on the continent, France, England's rival and peer, always ready to sympathize with Ireland, to support the pretensions of those who favored the return to Rome, a very center of opposition to all that England was attempting to effect. To counterbalance this uncertain state of things the most violent anti-French propaganda possible to achieve by the means at that time available, was set going. All this went to swell the torrent of fear and hate for all things Catholic that had come down from the time of the Spanish menace.

These sentiments toward the Catholic Church were shared by George III. He owed his place on England's throne solely to the forces that had been determined at any cost to prevent the succession of the Catholic Stuarts. Almost as German in temper as the two Georges who had preceded him, he understood little better than they did the people over whom he ruled, so that in the beginning of his reign, his measures offended his subjects at home almost

as much as they did those who lived across the seas. The open espousal of the American cause by the French Government produced an immediate reaction in England, causing all parties to unite and rally to the support of the King. This brings us to the moment when the French Minister Gérard, landed upon the American shores, having been escorted thither by a French fleet, that came offering unasked its coöperation with American efforts for independence.

Before entering, however, into a consideration of the political situation which confronted the French envoy, let us pause a moment to note the attitude which up to that time had prevailed in America toward the Papacy and toward France.

It need hardly be said that, as regards religious convictions, the colonists shared those of the mother country. Whatever difference of opinion there was among the sects, there was unity when it was question of feeling for those who accepted the supremacy of Rome. "Papists and Turks" were to them, alike reprehensible. The various "Platforms" and "Confessions" produced in New England, covering a period of a hundred years, stood in this matter upon the "Savoy Declaration" of 1658, where it is written: ". . . nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof (the Church); but it is that anti-Christ, that man of sin, and a son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God. . . ." And, further, they warn members not "to marry with *Infidels, Papists* and other *Idolaters*". It was thus a very holy fear that inspired hatred in the common mind against the dreaded symbol of Rome. This feeling was kept glowing by such propaganda as, for instance, the annual celebration of the so-called "Popish Plots".

As regards France, the general feeling of contempt that Imperial Britain had fostered in her subjects for what she was pleased to consider "the light and frivolous French",

was shared by the colonists in the New World. To this feeling had been added, during the period of the French and Indian wars, a very bitter personal hatred for the "Red Man's friend," who menaced the settler on every frontier. With the passing of France from American competition by the treaty of 1763, this hatred was allayed, though it persisted in the popular mind and became the strongest ally of the British King, and of his Tory subjects across the seas. It had been in the hope of fanning this feeling into flame that the British Government had decided during the autumn of 1777, after the defeat of their forces at Saratoga, to send Commissioners to America, for the purpose of healing the breach between the colonists and the mother country, before the dreaded Alliance between France and America could be effected.

When Gérard reached Philadelphia in July of 1778, the conflict between the Patriot and Tory elements in the country was at its height. The offensive advances of the British Commissioners, the inevitable destruction caused by the occupation and subsequent evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops, had produced such revulsion against England in the minds of those who had espoused the principles of independence, that the presence in their midst of a representative of His Most Christian Majesty, the Catholic King of France, was hailed with heart-felt approval by even the staunchest Protestant delegate to Congress, and by the people generally. With feelings of unspeakable gratitude they crowded round to greet the distinguished diplomat, the first to set foot on American soil. His presence here lifted at one stroke the budding nation to a level with its most illustrious rivals across the seas. It was indeed a proud moment for the young Republic. Henry Marchant, delegate from Rhode Island, voiced the general sentiment when he wrote to the Governor of his State:² "I had the honor

² See *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December, 1920.

of being present the last Sabbath at the most interesting interview that ever took place in America, or perhaps in the world, between Monsieur Gérard, the Plenipotentiary of France, and the President of Congress, on the part of the sovereign, independent United States of America."

In his fourth report to the Comte de Vergennes, dated Philadelphia, July 19, 1778, Gérard writes :

The members of Congress, the Generals of the Army, and the principal citizens flock to see me, although I have not yet presented my credentials, and have only called upon the President of Congress. The object of all these kind attentions is to impress me with the deep feeling which prevails, in regard to the generosity of the King, and the attachment to the Alliance. The language universally adopted shows an enthusiasm for these objects, almost equal to that for liberty itself.

Yesterday Congress gave me a great dinner for which the English Commissioners defrayed the principal expenses, through the turtles and wine which they had sent to the principal members of Congress. I profited by this dinner to converse very particularly with a great number of the members of the Government, as well as with other distinguished citizens. They flocked round me to congratulate themselves for having had the happiness to obtain the confidence and protection of the King. Several of them said that in the most critical moments they had nothing upon which they could count, except the virtue which His Majesty had manifested and upon the enlightenment of his ministers; that they had always confidently believed that hard conditions would not be prescribed to them, whose solidity is never great; but neither had they expected so much nobleness and interest; that the sending of a fleet, to which his Majesty was not bound, had convinced fully, even the least confident minds, of the purity of the views of France; that it required a conduct equally decided and noble to stifle the prejudices in which all Americans had been raised, and which the greatest efforts of the English, and particularly their last Commissioners, had constantly tended to nourish. . . .

As we proceeded up the Delaware River, on our way hither, the inhabitants of the shores of the Delaware did truly give the greatest marks of joy when they knew that we were French. The Officers and the common people crowded round and said to me: "You have come to our aid; we will go, when you wish it, to yours."

I gather together these different features, because I believe that in order to judge well the dispositions of the country, it is equally or even more important to observe the sentiments of the people than those of the members of the Government. The warmth of the feeling, aided by the banquet of yesterday, seemed to me sufficiently characteristic of the principal discourses, to render them worthy of being transmitted to you.

I hope to obtain more direct evidence regarding the disposition of Congress. I shall devote myself to this with all the more zeal, as you will have noticed, Mgr., in a refutation, otherwise very well written, of a letter of the English Commissioners, an inaccuracy for which I expostulated with Mr. Morris, deputy from New York, author of the letter, a young man of twenty-six, much looked up to because of his talents. But as the piece was anonymous it did not seem worth while to request that it be corrected.

I am, with the most profound respect,

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

GÉRARD.

The Fifth report, written on the same day as the foregoing, takes up the question of the British Commissioners. Gérard writes:

The President of Congress came yesterday to see me before going to the Assembly, to inform me that he had received another letter from the English Commissioners. . . . Congress, having taken the letter into consideration, felt that to enter into the question of State which the Commission raised, would be to gratify them by starting some sort of discussion which would provide them the means of exerting influence in all kinds

of ways, and which would make doubts arise among themselves regarding their own dispositions and the outcome of events. Congress would, moreover, have manifested the same doubt if it had hesitated regarding the validity of the title of its own authority, and it would have also compromised the preponderating credit with which it has exercised that authority since America has had the King for ally, or, as it is generally expressed here, for protector.

These powerful considerations were adopted unanimously; the debate was only as to the manner of reply. Certain members wished to return insult by insult, but the majority had only the public good in mind; the resolution of Congress was that, as the Commissioners had not satisfied the preliminary conditions of the declaration, Congress could not treat with them except in a manner conformable with existing treaties, and only when the Independence of the United States should be recognized, and the British fleets and armies should have been withdrawn; that consequently Congress had no reply to make to the letter of the Commissioners, and had even determined not to write to them, but to allow their resolution to reach them through the pages of the *Philadelphia Gazette*.

You see, Monseigneur, in this proceeding, the confidence of Congress in its own credit. They are convinced that their conduct will be received with acclamation. It covers with ridicule this brilliant Commission and its authors. This note of pride and contempt flatters infinitely this people, itself so long held in contempt by the English. I have applauded their resolution with all my force. It seems to me that it will help break up all negotiations and contribute to the complete separation of the two nations. It is hoped that the publication of the letters by which the Commissioners have tried to corrupt certain individuals will have the effect of still further stirring up the people.

I am, etc.

GÉRARD.

The sixth report, runs as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 25, 1778.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Every day I receive new evidence that the Whigs in the Provinces as well as in the city here feel that the American Government owes its present consistency to the friendship and the generosity of the King. The equality and disinterestedness of the terms of the treaty have enlightened minds which were before filled with prejudice and which dreaded almost more than they hoped from the Alliance. The English naturally do all in their power to keep up the ancient hatred against the name of France. Their proceedings in America have been constantly directed toward making our motives suspected. . . . They affirm that Canada was ceded to the King as the price of his complacency, and that he entered into treaty with America only to prolong the war in order to obtain favorable concessions from England.

The leaders, Monseigneur, seem never to have given way to such a gross illusion, but suspicious minds, habituated to the greedy and unjust policy of the English, hold these opinions. Many distinguished personages here speak freely to me regarding it. The appearance of the fleet of the King seems to have united all minds and hearts in the same sentiments. This is the fruit of His Majesty's wisdom, who judged that a sincere union between two nations which up to that moment had been divided, could not be accomplished except by means worthy of its grandeur of soul, and that such well-advised bonds would be as durable as any human thing could be. . . . Several leading personages have assured me that there is no division in Congress relative to the great objects that interest France, or compromise the safety of the United States. A faction did exist before the arrival of our treaties which was capable of becoming all the more dangerous, since treason could not be imputed to it. It was chiefly composed of clever and ambitious men, whose influence was slight. Their method was to maintain themselves in a sort of balance, in order to render themselves necessary when the time came to capitulate with the

English, because there were then very few men who had any idea it would be possible to end the quarrel without some kind of capitulation. A Scotch minister of the name of Wither-spoon, the only member of the clergy in Congress, was the soul of the party. He combined in a high degree two apparently opposite qualities; extreme impetuosity of character with the greatest flexibility of mind. Mr. Samuel Adams was of this party, the same who shone so brightly at the beginning of the Revolution. Since every one now believes that the issue of this quarrel will be honorable and solid, confidence has been restored.

Various other matters, such as his official reception by Congress, the disposition of the French fleet, etc., are the subjects of the next reports of the French Minister. On August 12, in his twelfth report, he writes to Vergennes:

The object of this letter is to trace for you a picture of the stability and of the internal condition of Congress, as well as the particular disposition of the several states relative to the authority and constitution of that body. The result of all my investigations tend to confirm the idea which I had the honor of communicating to you, relative to the credit of Congress. It has been able to conciliate the most entire confidence, as well on the part of the governments of the different states as of the citizens. Everything that comes from it is received with a sort of veneration. It essentially owes this to the attention it has paid never to pronounce upon important subjects until the minds of the people have been prepared, and after being assured of their sentiments. It owes this also to the unanimity with which important subjects are treated, and to the extreme regard which is paid to the several Governments. Congress respects with the greatest care the rights of sovereignty of the States, so that the resolutions of the several legislative bodies which are sometimes contrary to the measures taken by Congress do not lessen its consideration. An example is to be seen in the very important question of the Tories. Congress recommended gentle and legal measures. Certain states, as

Virginia and the Carolinas, have, on the contrary, exercised the most arbitrary and severe measures. I shall speak again on this subject and content myself here with remarking that the heads of the governments, having no distrust or suspicion in regard to the Congress, and wishing to extend its influence, are interested in maintaining its consideration, of which they profit in their turn. This policy is all the more useful, since the greater number of all the more accredited leaders, and the more intelligent, who directed events in the beginning, have accepted the first places in their own states, especially in the South. The really laborious and dull life of the members of Congress; their remoteness from their personal affairs; the voluptuous existence to which the great proprietors of the South have been accustomed, their monarchical turn of mind, being used to command over slaves; all this has led them to found their Colonies upon other principles than those that maintain in the North. The personal humor of these chiefs has not, however, up to the present, influenced the dispositions of the people, who are much more attentive than those of the North to maintain the rotation of delegates to Congress. Since I have been here, three deputies, one from Maryland, one from Georgia, and one from Carolina, have been relieved of their offices without notice and without anyone having any cause of dissatisfaction to allege. Such changes have been frequent for some time past.

It is evident, Monseigneur, that so many individuals, admitted successively to Congress, does not permit one to expect as many men of merit and of preponderating influence as in the early days of its institution. From this point of view it is not so well composed, although one finds there men of distinguished ability; but I am not sure, whether for general results its present condition is not preferable. It contributes to maintain that confidence which the least jealousy or the least distrust would quickly dispel. Moreover, it forms a greater number of subjects imbued with the principles of the constitution and of the American Republic. Such principles do not so easily enter minds having other habits of thought, and where often ancient prejudices remain blended with

maxims of the day. Another great advantage is, that Congress, remaining dependent upon the people, retains better the general spirit, and so is less likely to abuse its powers. An equivocal word, uttered in debate, suffices for the immediate recall of the member, and as this danger is multiplied by little intrigues of personal jealousy, from which even the most accredited persons are not always free when absence from their province has been prolonged, it seems that thus the most effective possible check is put upon the ambition of the body.

. . . I have already had the honor, Monseigneur, to call your attention to another sort of division that exists in Congress; it is in reference to the influence of that body upon the choice of its members. The germ of this discussion does not reside in the different states; it resides rather in the ambitious views of certain individuals. One can notice, as a sort of contrast, that it is largely members from the North, used always to an almost popular form of government who form this party. . . . Another object which bitterly divides Congress is the rivalry of the two Generals, Washington and Gates. . . . The division is almost between the states of the North and those of the South. The latter is for Washington, who is from Virginia. This General, whose conduct seems to have merited the esteem which Europe accords to it, and who joins virtue to talents, has been fiercely attacked by all the arms which envy can furnish; the scission became dangerous; the evacuation of Philadelphia and the Battle of Monmouth decided the question and the partisans of Gates are reduced to silence. . . . I cannot dispense with telling you, Monseigneur, that I have seen with sorrow that certain French officers of merit entered into this quarrel against Washington; I believed it my duty to show my high disapproval of their permitting themselves to enter into any sort of cabal.

This is not the only object of division and estrangement between the states of the South and the North. They form two distinct parties which count at present very few turn-coats. The division is attributed to moral and philosophical causes, but since it can be utilized for political ends, I regard the matter still as an object of research. . . . As to the facts

which I have presented to you, they rest upon authorities which, it seems to me, merit your confidence. . . .

I am, with the most profound respect,
Monseigneur, Yours etc.

GÉRARD.

The thirteenth report, written on the same day as the foregoing, shows the reverse of the picture. Gérard writes:

Up to the present, I have painted the Congress *en beau*, because I have considered it in relation to its attachment to Independence and the Alliance—the most important point of view for us. But it is time for you to know it from its weak side, in order to appreciate it in its independence. . . . Most of the members who sit in Congress owe their place only to their zeal in the American cause, without any regard to the talents necessary to carry on the immense task with which Congress is charged. This body holds in its hands all the branches of the entire general administration, of many parts of which not a single person understands the details. As soon as any person distinguishes himself by his knowledge, personal jealousy, and the maxim not to tolerate any personal ascendancy, cause his discharge. A merchant presided over the Committee of Commerce; he was removed and made head of Foreign Affairs; then they obliged him to quit this place because they suspected he was able to profit in his business by the secret advice he received. There are many Generals and Colonels in Congress; none of them is employed on the Committee of War. It follows from this, Monseigneur, that the administration is very far behindhand in all points where a fixed system and careful regulation of details are necessary. Arrangements relative to the Constitution, to the recruiting, equipment, and service of the Continental troops remain in suspense, as well as many other objects. Finances especially suffer, as I shall try to explain as soon as sufficiently informed upon this subject. In the mean time it will suffice to observe that Congress has made itself universal merchant and contractor. You can see, Monseigneur, that the lack of order in so important a detail in-

volves much loss and inconvenience, especially when it is considered that by this means the Congress places itself in competition with private merchants whom it cannot compel to furnish the needed articles. I am sorry to be obliged to add, Monseigneur, that personal disinterestedness and pecuniary probity have not rendered illustrious the birth of the American Republic. . . . The spirit of mercantile cupidity forms perhaps one of the distinctive characters of the Americans and especially of the people of the North. This character will doubtless have an essential influence on the destiny of the country. . . .

This lack of order and unity in details has existed from the beginning of the Revolution, and has more than once exposed the salvation of the budding Republic. If the English had shown themselves, as we have known them only too frequently elsewhere, active, confident, courageous, they would have met with but little resistance. The closer one observes this contrast, the more one is forced to see the finger of God in the event, and without the part equally wise and generous, which the King has taken, and precisely at the decisive moment, everything points to the belief that the use of the means would not have responded to the desire for the maintenance of independence, while it is to be feared that the spirit of security, to which all have now abandoned themselves, will greatly aggravate the situation. I shall try to impress upon Congress the necessity of order and of precaution, without destroying a confidence and a presumption which in themselves may be of great value. . . .

The New York papers have reported that when I set foot on American soil, Mr. Deane presented me with a piece of turf as a symbol of the American tradition; that I received it and kissed it, while making great signs of the cross. Many commentaries are added to this farce, with the idea of inspiring distrust in the minds of the people. . . . Here is matter indeed for the champions of the periodical press!

I am, with profound respect, Your etc.

GÉRARD.

Before taking up anew the discussions occasioned in

Congress by the proceedings of "His Majesty's Commissioners for Restoring Peace," let us pause for a moment to regard the matter from the viewpoint of the Commissioners themselves. Interesting and very full accounts have been preserved in the private as well as the public correspondence of the Earl of Carlisle and William Eden, which may be consulted in Stevens's *Facsimiles*, Numbers 101, 372, 494 etc.

As has already been stated, the idea of sending over Commissioners to treat with the Colonists arose out of the failure of the military campaign of 1777, which ended with the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. Fear of the intervention of France in support of the insurrection was an added stimulus. The Government, however, was slow to act and valuable time was allowed to pass, so that it was well into March, 1778, before arrangements had been completed, and the necessary powers ratified by Parliament. Already Simeon Deane had been able to slip away from France without being stopped, bearing the precious treaties of commerce and amity that had been signed February 6, by France on the one hand, and by the American Commissioners, Franklin, Deane, and Lee on the other. Favored by a particularly short passage for those days, this providential assurance of help reached America and was spread by the Patriot newspapers over the country, fully a month before the landing of the English Commissioners.

From the beginning, everything went wrong for the would-be peace-makers. Their destination was to have been New York. Seventy leagues from shore, however, they met with an English brig, whose captain informed them that Howe and Clinton were both in Philadelphia. As these two Generals were to form part of the Commission, the ship's course was changed, and they entered Delaware Bay, casting anchor off New Castle, June 6. From this place they sent a messenger to British Headquarters, announcing their

arrival. The news brought back was well calculated to fill His Majesty's Commissioners with dismay. Philadelphia was to be evacuated! The order had been issued by the Ministry some time previous to the date of their setting sail from England, yet no word had been vouchsafed to them regarding so important a matter. The fact itself was far less bitter than the affront so deliberately offered to their dignity. They felt themselves duped by their own Government, "in a way," to use the Earl of Carlisle's own words, "to render the Commission both ineffectual and ridiculous".

Notwithstanding the embarrassment of their position, they adapted themselves to it as best they could, and continued on their way to Philadelphia, where they spent the few days of grace remaining to them in launching their work of propaganda, and in attempting to enter into negotiations with the different members of Congress. Just before the evacuation of the city, the Commissioners proceeded to New York and there took up residence for the remainder of their stay.

One of the chief objects of their instructions related to the Convention of Saratoga. This Convention had been drawn up by General Gates and solemnly agreed to by General Burgoyne, October 15, 1777. By its terms the entire British Army with its military stores was to be turned over to the victors and the promise was made binding that the surrendered officers and soldiers should not serve against America during the remainder of the war. On the other side it was stipulated that under these conditions the Army should be free to return to Europe.

Congress had soon after ratified this Convention, and ordered that an inventory be made of the military stores to be surrendered, and the names and personal description taken down of each officer and soldier. This information was refused by Burgoyne, who complained that the convention had been broken in regard to him. Congress retaliated

by accusing that General of having willfully destroyed his equipment. After much discussion, the following resolution was passed, January 8, 1778.

Resolved, therefore, that the embarkation of General Burgoyne and the troops under his command be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress.

Let us now turn to the Reports of Gérard. On August 12, in his fifteenth report he writes :

The English Commissioners have addressed a new dispatch to the President of Congress, dated the 7th of this month. . . . It consists of a species of declaration signed by the Commissioners, contained in a letter from their Secretary. The declaration, after a great display of the fidelity with which nations execute cartels and conventions adopted for diminishing the horrors of war, cries out against the infraction of these laws by men who give themselves out to be the representatives of a nation. The Commissioners then ratify by their authority the Convention of Saratoga, and demand its immediate execution. Mr. Laurens communicated to me these documents the moment they arrived, but could not leave them with me until he had laid them before Congress. He felt the uselessness of the step of the Commissioners and the humiliation it was intended to convey, and his proposition was to order that the documents be *laid on the table*—ordinary formula for refusing to reply. It seemed to me, Monseigneur, that it was my duty to try to bring the Congress to carry their resolution farther in a matter that affects us so nearly, and thus cut short every future move of the Commission in this matter as in all others ; this, all the more, because the Court of England in all probability is not disposed to accord a ratification of the embarrassing convention. . . . I proposed therefore that they declare distinctly to the Commissioners that Congress considered their Commission as finished, and that it could not treat with it ex-

cept in conformity with the resolutions already signified. Mr. Laurens seemed to approve of this manner of viewing the case, and told me he would propose to forward this declaration by Mr. Thompson, Secretary of Congress, to Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to the Commission.

. . . I shall not report the resolutions of Congress relative to the troops of Burgoyne, because I am assured the English papers are full of them; I shall note simply that Congress seized very adroitly the complaint of that officer that the capitulation had been broken in regard to him, to require that it be ratified by the English Government. Arrangements made to take the troops to Boston roused very strong suspicions that their destination was not Europe (as had been stipulated), but New York. I shall do all that is in my power, according to circumstances, in order that they remain where they are.

I am, with profound respect, Your etc.

GÉRARD.

The sixteenth report reads:

PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 16, 1778.

. . . Dr. Ferguson's letter and the declaration of the Commissioners have been reported to Congress. Certain scruples were raised in regard to the part the President proposed to take, conformable to our interview. That Senator and several others have had long conversations with me, in order to inform themselves, as they expressed it, regarding the principles and the forms. The substance of the doctrine that I wished to indicate, is as follows: that Congress should hold strictly to the resolution of January 8, and suspend the execution of the Convention until Great Britain should distinctly ratify it; . . . that, in any transaction between independent nations, the first thing should be to examine the powers of him in whose name one treats, as well as the nature and the form of the power of the representatives who negotiate and conclude; that in England it is the King, alone, by his prerogative and by the constitution, who is authorized to negotiate; that he has not given full powers to the acting Commissioners, except in virtue of an act

of Parliament, and upon principles of dependence and under the condition of ratification which is not cognizable to it in matters either political or military. My conclusion was that it covered everything to declare that the offers of the Commission did not fulfil the conditions fixed by the resolution of January 8, that therefore it was necessary to await the action of the Court of London. If the Court signified the condition on which it would ratify, it would be a great step in advance for the States, and even a species of tacit recognition of their Independence; that if the ratification was accorded, then it would be necessary to declare that Congress would execute it on its part; that in order to execute it effectually, Congress would take the agreement in one hand and its grievances in the other, and proceed to the examination of the case according to the rules of the strictest equity; that then, provided that the English had destroyed their arms, and spoiled their military stores, Congress would declare that it would execute the fundamental clause, and one inherent in all conventions of the rights of peoples, by retaining prisoners such troops as had violated their engagements. The President assured me he had his proofs ready.

My manner of reasoning, Monseigneur, was unanimously approved. . . . They moreover testified to me on this occasion, in the strongest possible way, that should a direct or even an indirect recognition of their independence arrive, they would not make peace, even the most honorable for themselves, without using every effort to secure an honorable and sure peace to their generous ally. . . .

ELIZABETH S. KITE.

LORD BALTIMORE AND HIS FREEDOM IN GRANTING RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

A little band of pilgrims, sent out from England by the Catholic Lord Baltimore, landed at St. Clement's Island on March 25th, 1634. They formed the colony of Maryland, which later figured prominently in the struggle for political independence. But long before this time, under the guidance of their Lords and governors—the Calvert family—they had established religious liberty, which, as every real American knows, is the basis of true political liberty. In a period of intolerance, they founded a 'land of sanctuary' to which all, irrespective of creed, could flee to secure the freedom which they held more dear than material goods and even life itself.

There is no longer any serious need to prove that Maryland was the first colony in America to carry religious toleration into practice. Dr. William Hand Browne, a prominent non-Catholic authority on Maryland, writes: "We have now proof that this was from the first the purpose of the founder of Maryland; and that the Act of 1649 only formulated the policy which had ruled in the province from the very beginning."³

Catholics then have reason to look towards March 25th 1634 with special pride. Prejudice, however, always has a new pair of smoked glasses ready at hand to replace the broken old ones. Thus Clayton Coleman Hall raises a further objection: ". . . the picture of Maryland legislation is a gratifying one; but the historic theory which assigns the credit of it to the Roman Catholic Church has little foundation in fact."⁴ In other words, historians of

³ *Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, no. 28, p. 35 (1889).

⁴ *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate*, p. 82 (1902)

this type, while admitting that Baltimore was tolerant, seek to destroy the force of this admission by urging that this tolerance was due rather to the force of circumstances, than to any magnanimity on his part.

In this regard Bishop Russell presents certain considerations. King James I and Charles I were more intolerant and unfavorable towards Puritans than Catholics. Hence Bishop Russell argues: ". . . it is impossible to prove that he (i. e. Baltimore) could not have adopted the same intolerant policy as that pursued by the settlers of New England."⁵ Baltimore was a Lord in high standing with Charles I, whose wife was a Catholic, and who was suspected with good reason of being favorable towards Catholics. Hence it was possible for Baltimore to obtain a charter that would exclude all but Catholics.

We shall find that the historical documents relating to Maryland leave no room for the objection. Where the Calverts first obtained the notion of Toleration is a matter of speculation. Most agree in tracing it through Father Henry More, grandson of Sir Thomas More, to the Utopia.⁶ The mention of the bishopric of Durham in the charter likewise suggests the influence of Sir Toby Mathews, a school-mate of George Calvert, the son of the bishop of Durham, who later became a Jesuit. The Jesuits were the only Catholic priests in Maryland until 1643, when the first secular priest was sent over. The Jesuits undoubtedly played a very important role in the projection and earlier policies of the Calverts in relation to Maryland.

Other attempts had been made by Catholics to find a home for toleration before the foundation of Maryland. Thus in 1583 three Catholic gentlemen established such a colony in Newfoundland which was a failure. Mr. Winslade, also

⁵ *Maryland, The Land of Sanctuary*. p. 115 (1907).

⁶ Cf. Henry Morley, *More's Utopia*, p. 151.

a Catholic, in 1604 projected such a colony, but his idea was never realised. George Calvert himself in 1620 founded a colony at Avalon in Newfoundland, where religious liberty reigned, but which likewise ended in failure. He then sailed to Jamestown in Virginia in 1629 and attempted to found a tolerant colony within that province. The Virginians, however, refused to allow him to remain, unless he would take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, which could not be taken by a Catholic. Baltimore offered to take the Oath in a modified form, but the Virginians refused, happy "in the freedom of our Religion and that no papists have been suffered to abide amongst us" ⁷ The condition of Catholics in England was even worse. A letter written in 1634 by Richard Lechford, a Catholic friend of the Calvert family and sharer in the expenses of the first expedition to Maryland, gives a picture of these penal days. He was imprisoned for nine weeks, persecuted and deprived of his office for sending his children "beyond the seas for nuns". He adds: "I have received many sharp checks besides great charge and loss. . . . I give you only a touch of it" ⁸ This intolerance towards George Calvert and the friends of the family only offered a new stimulus to the Calverts to found and maintain in Maryland a "Land of Sanctuary".

George Calvert died on April 15th, 1632. The charter for Maryland, formulated by him, was however granted to his eldest son Cecil on June 20th, 1632. Cecil before his death in 1675 lived to see his father's ideal of religious toleration fully realized and maintained in Maryland in so far as lay in his power.

The charter granted to Cecil is agreed by all to have been

⁷ *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, p. 17.

⁸ *Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Publications*, no. 35, *The Calvert Papers*, III, p. 46.

very broad and liberal. His rights and powers in religious matters are stated thus: "We do grant the patronages and advowisms of all churches within the said region together with license and faculty of erecting churches and places of worship . . . ; with all and singular such, and as ample lights, jurisdictions, privileges liberties and royal rights, and temporal franchise whatsoever, as well by sea as by land to be had, exercised as any bishop of Durham ever heretofore hath had, held, used or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use or enjoy."⁹ All historians concede that these words are as broad and liberal as could be. They at least technically include the possibility of the exclusion of all but Catholics, if Baltimore so willed. The feeling in England at this time was Protestant, so that this right could not be given him in so many words. Baltimore was many times accused unsuccessfully of intolerance towards Protestants, but if this were excluded by the very wording of the charter, such charges would not have even received a hearing. The actual facts prove that they were repeated again and again. It is true, Baltimore was well known to be a Catholic, and it is possible that his love or actual promise of tolerance may have counteracted opposition arising from this source. But even if this be granted, in view of Baltimore's absolute powers, it is hard to account for the absence of a specific clause enforcing the toleration of Protestantism.

The charter, in truth, affords some check to Baltimore's power in so far as he had to consult the freemen in the making of laws.¹⁰ Likewise the laws made had to be in conformity with the laws of England "so far as conveniently may be".¹¹ But these very checks again left room for

⁹ *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

intolerance on Baltimore's part. He was to determine who were freemen, and also how, when and where they should be summoned. The latter phrase likewise was for the most part purely formal and capable of very broad interpretation, as the Toleration Acts passed later were in reality contrary to the penal laws of England.

Baltimore is given increased powers in "sudden accidents (which) may frequently happen," in which case "Baltimore and his heirs by themselves, or by their magistrates can make wholesome ordinances from time to time. . . ." ¹² Further ". . . . if peradventure hereafter it may happen that any doubts or questions should arise concerning the true sense and meaning of any word, clause, or sentence, contained in this our present charter, we will that interpretation to be applied, always, and in all things, and in all our courts which shall be judged to be more beneficial to the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns; provided, always, that no interpretation thereof be made, whereby God's holy and true Christian religion, of the allegiance due to us may in any wise suffer. . . ." ¹³ Hence the charter is entirely in Baltimore's favor, and grants him at least the possibility of excluding Protestantism, certainly of not tolerating those sects of Protestantism, which fell under the penal laws of England. That it is not more explicit is due in all probability to Baltimore's own love of complete tolerance, and the feeling in England at the time. If statesmanship were the sole motive of Baltimore's tolerance, it is hard to see why he should welcome the Quakers, whose turbulent spirit and opposition to Catholicism and other sects of Protestantism was well known and often manifested.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Lord Baltimore's intentions in founding Maryland were primarily religious, viz. the spread of the Gospel and the finding of a home for tolerance. The very charter states that he was "animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion."¹⁴ (He was well known to be a Catholic and the Christian religion for him was Catholicism.) Cecil himself in his "Instructions" of 1633 declares, "his lordship's intentions . . . are first the honor of God by endeavoring the conversion of the savages to Christianity,"¹⁵ and in his "Announcement" of some years later, "First and especially . . . that he may carry thither . . . the light of the Gospel and the truth. . . ."¹⁶ Father White, a Jesuit, in a Letter to the Rev. Father General Mutius Vitellesetis dated April 1634,¹⁷ and Captain Cornwalley, a prominent member of the Maryland colony, bear witness of the same fact.¹⁸ Thus Baltimore's original religious intentions cannot be doubted. Catholic Christian charity was his motive. George Calvert himself in a letter to a Protestant friend Wentworth gives the keynote: "Thus your Lordship sees that we Papists want not charity towards you Protestants, whatever the less understanding part of the world think of us."¹⁹

Baltimore was not fanatical in his religious zeal. He extended a cordial invitation to all, irrespective of creed, to seek refuge in Maryland from intolerance. In a more practical way, he made this possible to very many, including Protestants, by supplying the necessary funds. Thus the major part of the expenses of the first expedition was

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 136.

¹⁶ *Fund Publications*, no. 7, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁸ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 172.

¹⁹ William E. Russell, *op. cit.* p. 50.

borne by the Calvert family and some Catholic friends. The charter states Baltimore's purpose was to "transport by his own industry and expense, a numerous colony."²⁰ The Letter of Father White above referred to says: "For he (i. e. Baltimore), having originated the whole expedition, had to bear all the expenses."²¹ Cecil Baltimore himself reminds the Marylanders of his "great expense of great sums of money with much solicitude and travail (whereby that colony was first begun and preserved)" ²² In his defence and declaration before the English House of Lords, Baltimore records that he had "already above two hundred people there" and requests that no contrary charter be allowed to pass "in respect that the greatest part of their fortunes (i. e. the Calverts) are thereupon engaged."²³ The amounts of money spent by him he estimates at £20,000 on Avalon and £10,000 on Maryland, which were huge amounts at that time.

Historians are agreed that there were many Protestants in the first band of pilgrims to Maryland and that the greater part of these were redemptioners, i. e. bound to service to defray the expenses of transporting them thither. But Baltimore himself paid the greater part of the expenses of this first expedition. Hence we can conclude that he enabled many Protestants to go to Maryland, who could not have gone otherwise. But this surely is a proof of something more than necessity.

Lord Baltimore was very anxious that complete religious toleration should exist from the very beginning. In his "Instructions" of 1633, he warns the Catholic governors and commissioners, that "they be very careful to preserve

²⁰ *Proceedings of the Council*, p. 2.

²¹ *Fund Publications*, no. 7, p. 22.

²² *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, p. 265.

²³ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, p. 272.

unity and peace amongst all the passengers on shipboard, and that they suffer no scandal nor offense to be given to the Protestants. . . . (that) they cause all acts of Roman Catholic Religion to be done as privately as may be, and that they instruct all the Roman Catholics to be silent, upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of religion, and that the said governors and Commissioners treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favour as Justice will permit. And this is to be observed at land as well as at sea." ²⁴ This is the opening clause, and the closing clause runs thus: "That in fine they be very careful to do justice to every man without partiality" ²⁵ This in reality is the first Toleration Act and is due wholly to Baltimore. The beginning of the colony was surely one of "the frequent accidents", when an assembly could not be called, and in which the charter granted Baltimore the right of making laws.²⁶ The first Assembly we have record of was not called until 1637, but there must have been laws previous to this time. The legal forms and the fact that these "Instructions" were to be read publicly by the Governor on landing, would suggest that they were the code of laws in Maryland, at least for the early years. In the trial of Lewis, which took place about July 1638, both the Secretary and Captain Cornwalleys in giving judgment refer to the offenses as "committed by him against a proclamation set forth to prohibit all such disputes." ²⁷ The reference very probably is to the "Instructions", as it is the only document we have to which it could refer. It is evident that these "Instructions" exceed the limits of necessity.

The charter left the choice of the actual form of govern-

²⁴ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, *Calvert Papers I*, p. 132.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁶ *Proceedings of the Council*, p. 7.

²⁷ *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court*, p. 39.

ment to Baltimore. He appointed the governor and his council, but the freemen had likewise to be taken into consideration. There was room for much intolerance under this head, as we indicated before. In the actual making of laws, he had power to veto any and all laws passed by the Assembly. But in all cases Baltimore was more liberal than his charter demanded. The colonists were well aware of this fact, and had no scruple in rejecting laws he sent over. Baltimore on the other hand always accepted and sanctioned all the laws they passed, provided they in no wise interfered with his guiding principle of religious toleration.

The first General Assembly of which there is any record was summoned in the year 1637. All the freemen without exception were called. A very liberal warrant was sent even to Kent Island, which was well known to be strongly Protestant: "Assemble all the freemen inhabiting within any part publish and proclaim the said general assembly persuade so many of the freemen as you think fit to repair personally and to give free power and liberty to all the rest either to be present if they so please; or elect and nominate such and so many persons as they or the major part shall agree upon to be deputies." ²⁸ Nothing could be more liberal than this warrant.

The opposition on apparently religious grounds by various General Assemblies to laws sent over by Baltimore might perhaps be urged as evidence against our thesis. In the years of Catholic predominance the opposition centers around Captain Cornwalleys, who undoubtedly was the mouthpiece of Jesuit proposals in Maryland. Cornwalleys's fears were chiefly for the future: "Nor were it difficult out of the laws sent over to find just grounds to fear the introduction of Laws prejudicial to our honors and free-

²⁸ *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, p. 1.

dom”²⁹ But these fears were not warranted by the facts. Baltimore states that they were evidently suggested by Jesuits who claimed “very extravagant privileges”; That there was no need of fear is obvious from the fact that the Jesuit provincial in England supported Baltimore on the matters in dispute with the Jesuits of Maryland. The very fact that the Jesuits claimed privileges which existed only in Catholic countries, is sufficient proof that they realized that Baltimore intended no intolerance. The letter of the Governor, Leonard Calvert, of 1638 probably gives the real cause of their rejection: “The body of laws you sent over I endeavoured to have had passed but could not effect it, there was so many things unsuitable to the people’s good”³⁰ Evidently the laws in question were not adapted to the material conditions. Baltimore overestimated the capabilities of Maryland, perhaps by taking too literally “The Voyage to Maryland”, a translation of Father White’s letter of 1634, already referred to above. “The Announcement”, published by Baltimore about this time, likewise greatly exaggerates the material prosperity. The laws had to be passed as a whole or not at all; so that some little clause, such as the paying of certain sums for registering title-deeds, the amount of customs, the details of military service, etc. would have caused their total rejection. It is possible likewise that they contained some clause referring to jurisdiction, such as is to be found in the charter, and this was exaggerated so as to appear to interfere with religious liberty. Thus the opposition was on grounds other than religious. Baltimore himself was a Catholic and certainly would not have interfered in any way with the religious liberty of the Catholic colonists. It is true, he did oppose the Jesuits of Maryland; but in this he was sup-

²⁹ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, p. 173 (1638).

³⁰ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, p. 173.

ported by their superior in England. Though he refused to allow any more Jesuits to go to Maryland, some did go, and Baltimore himself sent seculars in their place. This opposition is really an argument in our favor, as both the Marylanders and the Jesuits knew that Baltimore was more likely to be less offended at them, if they based their opposition on the plea that their religious liberty was interfered with by his laws.

In the law courts of Maryland the Protestants received full justice and were protected from possible Catholic opposition. There are two classical cases given in the records, in both of which the majority of the judges were Catholics and the judgment was given in favor of the Protestant party. The first was between a Catholic, Lewis, and his two Protestant servants, tried in 1638 before the governor, the secretary and Captain Cornwalleys, three leading Catholics of Maryland. Lewis was accused of preventing his servants from reading in his house certain Protestant works which were anti-Catholic, and further of calling their authors 'devils'. He was fined 500 lbs. of tobacco, the maximum, and bonded for good behavior in the future.³¹ The second was that of David Wicklif, representing the Protestant cause against Thomas Gerrard, a Catholic. It was tried in 1641 before the General Assembly, which was still predominantly Catholic. Gerrard was accused of taking the key of the chapel and carrying away the books. He was ordered to return the key and the books and "pay a fine of 500 lbs. of tobacco towards the maintenance of the first minister as should arrive".³² Thus were the principles of toleration laid down by Baltimore carried into actual practice. There is a striking absence of further cases of religious trouble in these early years, and also of violent

³¹ *Judicial and Testimentary Evidence of the Provincial Court*, p. p. 35-39.

³² *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, p. 121.

offences and crimes, which is indicative of a spirit of friendliness and civility among the colonists.

The letters of the Jesuit missionaries during this period give further valuable evidence of the good social relations existing between Catholics and Protestants. The numerous conversions of Protestants speak eloquently on this point. Thus in 1638 ". . . . since there are Protestants as well as Catholics in the colony, we have labored for both, and God has blessed our laborers."³³ There are not wanting, however, ". . . frequent occasions of dissension, yet none of any importance has arisen here in the last nine months, which we have not immediately allayed. . . ." ³⁴ Father Copley, a Jesuit, was consulted by the Protestants in the Lewis case. Thus the Jesuits, though universally hated by Protestants elsewhere, had very considerable influence among them in Maryland. In 1639 a Jesuit again writes: "Not only Catholics come in crowds, but also many heretics . . . not without the rewards of our labours."³⁵ There was never any question of compulsion in these cases.

This freedom and association in the law courts, Assemblies and even Church was made possible by the mutual good will and cooperation resulting from the magnanimous principles and actions of the Calverts. Protestants and Catholics take their place side by side on juries and committees, irrespective of whether the interest at issue is Protestant or Catholic. If tolerance were the result of necessity, intolerance ought surely to show itself in some shape or form in the social, civic, or legislative operations of the colony. It might be argued we have not all the records and documents. True, Ingle destroyed much of the records, but he accused Baltimore of intolerance in the English courts. The natural

³³ *Fund Publications*, no. 7, p. 55.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

conclusion is that he would have destroyed much of the evidence in favor of tolerance and revealed any against it. Many new documents have been discovered in recent years, and probably more will be in the future, but each new discovery has in the past been completely in our favor,

The magnanimity of Baltimore is clearly manifested in the legal expressions of his consistent policy from the beginning in Maryland. We have seen already the first actual Toleration Act was contained in the "Instructions" of 1633. This was due solely to Cecil Baltimore. The first Toleration Act of 1638, passed by the General Assembly, is possibly the substance of one of the laws sent over by him. In any case, it is but the repetition in legal form of his policy. It is enacted in the name of the Lord with the advice of the freemen "that Holy Church within this Province shall have all her rights and liberties immunities safe whole and inviolable in all things."⁸⁶ Some might object that "Holy Church" includes only the Roman Catholic Church. But that this is out of the question is obvious from the facts already given. The second Toleration Act was passed on April 21, 1649. The conditions under which it came to be enacted argue strongly in favor of Baltimore's influence. In 1646 there had been a petition made to the House of Commons in England to "appoint an able governor and other fit officers of the Protestant religion" in Maryland.⁸⁷ Ingle and others had likewise sought to have Baltimore's charter withdrawn, because of his 'papist' government and ill-treatment of Protestants. Hence he appointed Stone, a Protestant, governor in 1647. The earliest record of Stone and his Protestant council actually exercising their offices is on April 26, 1649.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, p. 40.

⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the Council*, p. 173.

⁸⁸ *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court*, p. 503.

Baltimore guarded the rights of Catholics by making these officials take an oath, "that I will not . . . directly or indirectly trouble molest or discountenance any person whatsoever . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ and in particular no Roman Catholic for or in respect of his or her religion nor in his or her free exercise thereof . . . nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring of offices, rewards or favours . . . in respect of his or her religion or free exercise."³⁹ The Toleration Act bears this introduction: "Forasmuch as in a well governed and Christian Common Wealth matters concerning Religion and the honour of God ought in the first place be taken into serious consideration and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore ordered and enacted by the Right Honorable Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltimore . . . with the advice and consent of this General Assembly"⁴⁰ The Act forbids blasphemous speeches including "reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of our Saviour. . . ."⁴¹ It further prohibits dissensions and the calling of any other such names as "heretic, schismatic, Idolator, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Se Papist, or any other name or term in a reproachful manner relating to matter of Religion. . . ."⁴² Also the profanation of "the Sabbath or Lord's Day called Sunday by frequent swearing, drunkenness or by uncivil or disorderly recreation, or by working" unnecessarily.⁴³ Further "no person . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall

³⁹ *Proceedings of the Council* p. p. 210, 211.

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, p. 244.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

from henceforth be any ways troubled . . . in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof. . . .”⁴⁴ Finally the officers of the colony are to enforce strictly the various clauses of this Act. Some historians⁴⁵ remark that the bill is drawn up in exact and detailed legal form, and bears for the most part a very striking resemblance to the oaths prescribed by Baltimore. It is obviously composite: the first part of each clause is in exact legal form and corresponds in form to the oaths; the second part adds some unessential details suggestive of Protestant influence. To illustrate: under each clause there is a twofold penalty, the first compromising a fine or imprisonment, and the second whipping, etc. The first instance we find of whipping, ear-cropping, etc, is in 1648, when the Puritan influence was growing. Parts of the Law also are not so technically worded, indicating addition or change from the original form, e.g. the clause relating to the observance of the ‘Sabbath or Lord’s Day’. This fact, together with the reference to recreations, again suggests Puritan influence. The Puritans cannot, however, claim the credit of making the Law. They were most intolerant, as is proved by their later action under Cleyborne and Bennet, one of whose first acts, passed with their approval, was that of 1654 against Papists and Episcopalians. Besides, they were not as yet very strong in Maryland. It is quite likely the Catholics would seek to protect themselves by such a law, but they could hardly be capable of formulating such an exact and detailed document in so short a time and under such disturbed conditions. The Protestants were fast growing in numbers in Maryland at the time, hence the command of Baltimore himself would be required. All admit Baltimore was a great statesman with keen foresight.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁴⁵ Cf. Clayton Hall, *op. cit.* E. W. Russell, *op. cit.*

He did actually formulate oaths like in form to the Act to protect Catholic interests especially. These oaths laid down what they should not do. The law prescribes what positive acts they should do. The position of Catholics abroad and especially in England had been for some years growing more precarious. Hence our conclusion, that it formed at least in substance part of a body of laws sent over by Baltimore with Stone, or shortly before his arrival, while Catholics still held the majority in power and numbers in Maryland. Thus Baltimore kept the gates of his sanctuary open, notwithstanding the efforts of the Puritans in England to shut them.

It was the very excess of the exercise of tolerance on Baltimore's part that was in a large measure responsible for Cleyborne and Bennet's success and the intolerance which they forced on the colony for some years. Baltimore received with open arms all those, especially Quakers, expelled from Virginia by an Act of 1648 enforcing conformity to the Church of England. In 1650 Baltimore wrote to Governor Stone to leave some offices open for "some other fitting person to be Receiver because some other persons who are lately already come, or may perhaps shortly come any may be fit to be our Council of state. . . ." ⁴⁶ Baltimore was not bound to receive these refugees. To give them offices was purely magnanimous on his part. They repaid his kindness and tolerance a few years later by cooperating with his enemies in passing the act of Intolerance of 1654.

As early as 1638, we find Father Copley objecting to David Wicklif, "a chiefe protestante", holding the office of sheriff.⁴⁷ There is evidence that they held such minor offices all through this period of Catholic predominance.

⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, pp. 340, 341.

⁴⁷ *Fund Publications*, no. 28, *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 163.

Thus, although Baltimore was probably forced to appoint Protestants to offices in 1648, he was by no means bound in 1638 or earlier.

A last and very convincing argument is drawn from the attitude of Protestants towards Baltimore. Charges of intolerance were made against him by ancient enemies, such as Ingle, Cleyborne, Cloberry and their associates, but it is significant that they were unable to prove them before Protestant bodies in England, not even before a Puritan Commission, which would naturally have been prejudiced in their favor. The Protestants even defended Baltimore, e. g. in a document known as "Langford's Refutation", dated 1655, and signed by the leading Protestants of Maryland. It was an answer to a pamphlet written to prove Baltimore was intolerant and witnessed by a Maryland Protestant, Dulaney, who later signed the "Refutation". It is written specifically to prove Baltimore's tolerance, and shows clearly that he exceeded the limits of necessity. The very title says: "A true discovery of certain strange and inhuman proceedings of some *ungrateful* people in Maryland, *towards those who formerly preserved them in time of their greatest distress.*"⁴⁸ It shows that Davenant was appointed governor and given Baltimore's right by the late King, "because Baltimore did visibly adhere to the rebels in England and admitted all kind of sectaries and schismatics and ill affected persons into the Plantation".⁴⁹ It goes to show that the oath imposed by Baltimore was simply a guarantee of religious freedom and that "many Protestants of much better quality, have taken it and kept it."⁵⁰ Many of the Protestants under Stone held out and suffered persecution in defence of Balti-

⁴⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 42.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

more's right against Cleyborne and Bennet. It likewise states that Baltimore did not claim excessive jurisdiction but only that granted him by his charter.⁵¹ It continues, Cleyborne and Bennet, "known and declared enemies of Lord Baltimore", acted tyrannically and without cause. Baltimore had given them the "freest laws of any nation as even Protestants attest".⁵² The oath of fidelity, "was appointed to be taken by a law made in Maryland in 1649 with the consent of Protestants as well as Roman Catholics there when he made Captain Stone governor and Mr. Thomas Hatton secretary, and others of his council there, who, being of different judgment in religion from himself, his Lordship thought it but reasonable and fit that as he did oblige them by oath not to disturb any there who professed to believe in Jesus Christ, as to express the Roman Catholic in particular, who were of his own judgment in matter of Religion. . . ." ⁵³ This indicates that Baltimore himself substantially formulated the Act of 1649, and that the General Assembly consented unto it. It must be remembered that this document was signed by the Protestants, including officials, Quakers, and many of the old colonists, and further that they were in no way forced to sign it, but would have been gladly listened to if they did not. The Marylanders were always very jealous regarding their religious rights, and would not have signed it, if it were untrue. This argument is unanswerable and establishes our thesis.

Baltimore was tolerant not because he had to be, but because of his Catholicity. Spurred on by failure and intolerance, he succeeded in obtaining a charter, which at least technically gave him the right to exclude Protestants, cer-

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 43.

⁵² Ibid., p. 44.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 57.

tainly to exclude sects falling under the penal laws of England. But Baltimore carried his ideal of complete toleration into practice from the beginning, defraying the expenses of needy Protestants, and himself making the first Toleration Act of 1633. In fact his primary purposes was religious, but not fanatical. The charter left many loopholes for intolerance, but he used these as means to greater tolerance. Complete religious liberty was the motto in the Assemblies, law courts, and social relations. The opposition on apparently religious grounds only goes to show that this was the easiest way to avoid Baltimore's anger. Baltimore played a prominent part in the passing of the two Toleration Acts of 1638 and 1649, both of which exceed the limits of necessity. This very over-tolerance towards Quakers brought on persecution, which only gave him in 1657 a new occasion for declaration of his persistent intention of complete toleration.⁵⁴ Finally, the unsuccessful opposition of prejudiced Protestants in English courts, and the defence of Baltimore by Maryland Protestants, demonstrate the fact that Baltimore was tolerant because he was Catholic.

WM. KING.

⁵⁴ *Proceedings of the Council*, p. 334.

WORK OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY IN THE UNITED STATES. DIOCESE OF CHICAGO

1846 to 1921

IN accordance with a promise made by the Sisters of Mercy to the Bishop-elect, William Quarter, on their arrival in New York from Ireland, December 10, 1843, Mother Francis Xavier Warde with five Sisters arrived in Chicago from Pittsburg, September 23, 1846, to take charge of the education and religious training of young girls of the diocese,¹ and to establish therein the charitable activities peculiar to the Mercy Institute. The new foundation comprised Sister Mary Vincent McGirr, Sister Mary Gertrude McGuire, Sister Mary Elizabeth Corbett, Sister Mary Eva Schmidt and Sister Mary Agatha O'Brien, Superior.

The Sisters left for Chicago, September 18, Thursday, by way of the Ohio River, to Beaver, Pennsylvania, then by stage-coach to Poland, Ohio, where they remained Friday night. On the following morning, they continued their journey by stage-coach to Cleveland, and arrived there on Saturday night. On the next morning, Sunday, they went to Mass and received Holy Communion; in the evening they continued their journey by steamboat by way of Lake Erie to Detroit, where they were obliged to disembark to accommodate passengers whose reservations had been made prior to the arrangements made for the Sisters.

¹ The Diocese created November 28, 1843 by the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI in accordance with the wish of the Provincial Council of Baltimore, comprised the State of Illinois, north of the south line of Whiteside, Lee, De Kalb, Grundy and Kankakee Counties. The Reverend William Quarter of St. Mary's Church, New York, was appointed first bishop of Chicago and was consecrated in New York City, March 10, 1844.

This delay in Detroit, however, was made pleasant by the kind reception given them by Right Rev. Peter Paul Lefevère, Bishop of Detroit. Tuesday night, September 22, they started for Kalamazoo by stage and arrived there next morning; again by stage over a stretch of country to St. Joseph's Michigan. Here, while waiting for the "Sam Ward" the boat to take them to Chicago, they went in search of food and rest at the Village Inn. They found all the rooms there were occupied with victims of fever and ague; they remained in the common room of the Inn until time for their departure. After a stormy night on Lake Michigan, they reached Chicago on the eve of the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy, September 23, 1846. This, on account of the overland route from Detroit to St. Joseph's, was a few days earlier than anticipated. In consequence their accommodations were not in readiness. Bishop Quarter, therefore, gave them his own house, a one-story frame building, corner of Madison and Michigan Avenue, where they remained until November, 1847 when they removed St. Xavier's Academy, a brick structure recently completed, near the Cathedral, 131 Wabash Avenue. Meanwhile, Bishop Quarter with Reverend Patrick J. McElhearn, pastor of St. Mary's Cathedral, resided in a wretched two-room dwelling, a hovel compared with the one vacated for the Sisters.

To the weary travelers, the country which was to be the scene of their future labors, presented a wild expanse of prairie land, which, as late as 1833, was studded with wigwams, the home of the painted Kaskaskia² and Peorie

² The United States recognizing the fact that the Kaskaskia Indians were Catholics, agreed by the treaty of 1803 to pay a Catholic priest one hundred dollars for seven years toward his maintenance; and to give the Indians three hundred dollars for the purpose of erecting a Church.

See "History of Catholic Church in United States" by John Gilmary Shea, p. 569. J. P. Kennedy, 1896.

Indians, whose war-whoops re-echoed over the trackless region. The poverty of the pioneer Sisters was extreme. The people were poor but gave generously of their scanty means. Their dwelling, formerly the Bishop's residence, a mere shell, gave slight protection against rains in summer and cold winds and snow in winter. It was not uncommon in the morning to find the clothing on their beds covered with a blanket of snow. During the trials and difficulties of early construction work, the Sisters found in Bishop Quarter, a true friend, their support in trials of poverty, who shared with them the hardships of early days.

Early in October, 1846 the first parochial school, St. Mary's, was opened for girls in a small building in the rear of the convent with fifty pupils in attendance. Some rooms in the same building also served as a boarding house for working girls and an office where they could secure a home and obtain employment. A school for boys, St. Joseph's, was opened on Madison Street near Wabash.

A select school was opened October 12th, 1846 in the Old "Beaubien Home" in the rear of the convent, (the Bishop's House) with an enrolment of 50 pupils; 10 boarders and 40 day pupils. This was the unpretentious beginning of the present capacious and splendidly equipped St. Xavier College and Academy, 4900 Cottage Grove Avenue. Night school for those who could not attend day classes, and an instruction class for converts, were opened in the convent in 1846. This was, as far as we know, the first night school for adults opened in the city of Chicago. In addition to these activities, the Sisters also followed the rule of their Institute by visiting the sick in their homes, the poor in the almshouse and the prisoners in the jail. This was the first social welfare work conducted in Chicago.

The ingenuity and energy of the Sisters soon transformed the small community room in the improvised convent, the Bishop's house, into a work-shop and store-room

of school equipment. Time for recreation was usually employed in making instruments and illustrations for the school. Parchment received from friends in Ireland was utilized for maps which, when finished in water-colors, made keen the interest of the child, and impressed on the child's mind the physical contour of the earth. Willow branches were woven into the form of a sphere on which they drew the continents and divisions of the earth. These took the place of our present-day drop-globes; squares, cubes, cones, cylinders, the concrete illustrations of mensuration of lines, surfaces, volumes, had their places in the little workshop. Collections of minerals, sponges, coral, etc., were made to bring the child's mind into practical acquaintance with the physical world, marine life and vegetation.

The Abacus, or counting frame, was an interesting feature of the community room "work-shop". The frame was made of elm wood spanned with wires on which were placed small painted spools, a substitute for sliding balls. Blackboards were made of timber, planks planed and painted then fastened to the wall. The Sister was, at once the artisan, the artist and the teacher. Compared with modern school apparatus made for commercial purposes, the Sisters' handiwork, would undoubtedly provoke a smile, but their craft was not less efficient. With patient industry and toil, the work of organization and equipment was so far advanced in mid-winter as to admit of Mother Warde's return to Pittsburg. To spare a Sister-companion the fatigue and hardship in the journey back to Pittsburg, it was decided with the Bishop's consent, that Mother Warde should return alone. The date of her departure is not given but it was by stage-coach overland route. Dressed in secular garb to avoid undue attention, she set out alone for Pittsburg. A muff placed in her hands by a kind friend on leaving proved of great value in carrying her office book

and "Imitation of Christ", her only comfort on the journey.

Mother Warde's journey is a classic in missionary zeal, the details of which form interesting reading and are worthy of repeating here. They are evidently taken from her own account of the facts and recorded in the *Annals*. Mother Warde managed to secure a place apart, a corner of the coach reserved for mail bags. Here, surrounded by men of the roughest type, she kept vigil for two days and two nights, tasting neither food nor drink. Black bread and black coffee could be obtained at wayside Inns, but hunger and cold with the "Following of Christ" as a traveling companion among the mail bags were preferred to mingling with the crowd at the taverns.

The *Annals* state that a cart drawn by oxen, a substitute for horses, was used part of the way. An opportunity was often given to the oxen to measure their strength in extricating the wheels from the mud. A three days continuous journey brought them to Toledo,³ Ohio. The first woman whom Mother Warde met since she left Chicago was an Irish maid, a servant at the hotel where Mother Warde stayed while in Toledo. She revealed to Mother Warde with confidence and trust her own religious belief, relieved to unburden herself of the trials which she had to endure for her Faith from employers and fellow-servants.

Mother Warde, desirous of hearing Mass the next morning, hired a coach to convey her to the church. The driver, because of the snow drifts, stopped some distance from the church and refused to go farther. Reverend Mother was obliged to walk the remainder of the distance, she heard Mass and received Holy Communion. The Pastor, Father De Goesbriand, afterwards

³ Toledo was then a village of two thousand inhabitants, a bank, a hotel, a few large houses, poorly laid streets were all that the prospective city could boast of.

Bishop of Burlington, received her kindly after Mass, and in the evening escorted her to the hotel.⁴ Early next morning she took the stage for Pittsburg. About ten miles out from Toledo the coach broke down and all, except Mother Warde were obliged to get out and procure logs to raise the wheels. Four hours were spent in getting logs and repairing the vehicle. Their next stopping-place was Sandusky, Ohio. The hotel, an uninviting-looking tavern could not tempt Mother Warde beyond the basin at the watering trough where she washed her hands and face. The coach was stalled in the mire of the rough country road about ten o'clock at night. Two yoke of oxen secured from a nearby farm helped to draw the stage from the ruts. They came to a steep hill, the descent of which was considered perilous. The men in the coach got out to lighten the burden and to help the horses in holding back the vehicle in its steep descent. There was danger that horses, coach and passengers be hurled into the deep ravine below. Towards evening they reached Brownsville, Ohio, where they were to take the boat for Pittsburg. Here, while awaiting the departure of the boat, the passengers rested in the hotel where supper was prepared for them, but Mother Warde, tired and sick by the long journey, could not eat. She went on board the boat at once, where rough rivermen were her only companions until she reached Pittsburg at half-past three the next morning. There was no one at the wharf to meet her, nor could she find a conveyance to take her to the Convent. She was unfamiliar with the section of the city along the river front; however,

⁴ The Sisters of Notre Dame were in Toledo at this time, where they had an Academy and Boarding School for girls, 1846 to 1848. The fact that Mother Warde remained in the hotel, not in the Convent with the Sisters, is probably explained by the starting time of the stage coach, which would leave from the hotel, and very likely at an early hour in the morning, making it practically impossible to hear Mass before leaving, or to remain over night with the Sisters.

she started out alone in search of her Convent-home, where she arrived so fatigued by the journey and the lack of comforts and conveniences of modern travel that the Sisters called the physician, under whose care she remained fourteen days. Her naturally strong constitution, united with a good spirit and courage, contributed to her recovery.

Mother Agatha O'Brien who came here from Ireland, one of the first band, a postulant, and the first novice to be received, February 22, 1844, was appointed the first Superior of the Chicago foundation. She was only twenty-four years of age when she was placed in charge of the Chicago foundation. Educated with the Presentation Nuns in her native city, Carlo, Ireland, her character and personality were the only wealth she could offer a community. Her parents were poor, she could bring no dowry⁵ and entered Mother McAuley's Sisterhood as a lay Sister, 1843. During the voyage, Bishop O'Connor had opportunities to observe the rare qualities of mind and heart, with which nature had so richly endowed her, accordingly, with the consent of the community, when the time for her profession came, she made her vows as a choir Sister, on May 5th., 1846; the ceremony took place in the Pittsburg Cathedral, the Right Rev. Bishop O'Connor preached on the occasion. The first ceremony of religious profession in Chicago took place in St. Mary's Cathedral, November 21, 1846 when Sister Mary Gertrude McGuire made her final vows. Interest in the ceremony brought great crowds to the Cath-

⁵ The required dowry of members of the Order was utilized for the establishment and maintenance of those charitable activities for which the Institute was founded. It was not in the mind of the Holy Foundress, Mother McAuley, that her Institute should depend upon public appropriation or private endowments, political influence or the ever changing policies of legislators for the up-keep of charitable activities. Later, Mother McAuley permitted boarding schools and Academies to be opened, the revenue of which went toward the maintenance of the non-self-supporting institutions.

edral to witness the impressive sight. Bishop Quarter heightened the solemnity of this unique ceremony by explaining the nature and purpose of the Mercy Institute.

Shortly after their coming to Chicago the Sisters visited the Charity Dispensary of the Rush Medical School. Later, 1849, the Rush Medical Staff offered their services to the Illinois General Hospital free of charge, on condition that they be allowed to hold clinics there for the Medical Students at the patients' bedside. Another condition was that the Sisters of Mercy be allowed to come to the hospital to visit and care for the sick during the day. Thereafter, they went regularly from their Convent on Wabash and Madison Avenues to bring consolation and comfort to the sick at this Hospital.

In the meantime improvements had been made on the Sisters' first residence (the Bishop's house), but these were such as could not warrant accommodations for the growing Community. In November, 1847, by request of the Bishop, the Sisters moved into the building recently erected near the Cathedral at 131 Wabash Avenue. The Select school, opened in the former Convent in 1846, was chartered February 27, 1847. The Catholic Directory 1848 describes this Convent and school.

"A new Convent has been erected during the past summer for the use of the Sisters. It is a large commodious edifice adjoining the Cathedral and overlooking Lake Michigan." The new Academy is also advertised.

"YOUNG LADIES ACADEMY OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER."

"This Institution was chartered at the last session of the Illinois Legislature. It is under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, who pay every attention to the Morals, the Manners and Literary improvement of their pupils.

TERMS.

Board and Tuition, including Washing and Mending, Doctor's fees, Ink and Quills, \$150.00 per annum.

The Catholic Directory of 1849 records 70 young ladies in daily attendance at St. Mary's Day School, 120 pupils attend St. Mary's second day school. The former is probably the Academy, the latter St. Mary's Parochial School.

The following is a copy in part, of the original Charter granted to St. Francis Xavier's Academy, February 27, 1847.

CHARTER OR ACT OF INCORPORATION

An Act to Incorporate the St. Francis Xavier Female Academy, of Chicago, Illinois, February 27th., 1847.

Section 1.

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, that Margaret O'Brien, Catherine McGuire, Margaret McGirr, Eliza Corbett, Ellen Reiley, Mary Monholland, and Eva Smith, and their Successors, be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, under the name and style of "The St. Francis Xavier Female Academy, of Chicago, Illinois," and henceforth shall be styled and known by that name, and by that name and style to remain and have perpetual Succession, with power to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded; to acquire, hold and convey property, real, personal or mixed, in all lawful ways; to have and use a common Seal, and to alter the same at pleasure; to make and alter from time, such By-Laws as they may deem necessary for the government of said Institution, its officers and servants: Provided such By-Laws are not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States; and to confer on such persons as may be considered worthy such Acade-

mical or honorary degrees as are usually conferred by similar Institutions.

Section III.

Said Institution shall remain located in or near the City of Chicago, Cook County; and the corporators, and their Successors shall be competent in law and equity to take to themselves, in their said corporate name, real, personal, or mixed estate, by gift, grant, bargain and sale, conveyance, will, devise or bequest, of any person or persons, whomsoever; and the same estate whether real or personal, to grant, bargain, sell, convey, demise, let, place out at interest, or otherwise dispose of the same, for the use of said Institution, in such manner as to them shall seem most beneficial to said Institution. Said Corporation shall faithfully apply all the funds collected, or the proceeds of the property belonging to said Institution, according to their best judgment, in erecting suitable buildings, supporting necessary officers, instructors and servants and procuring Books, maps, charts, globes and philosophical, chemical and other apparatus necessary to the success of said Institution; Provided, nevertheless, that in case of any donation, devise, or bequest shall be made for particular purposes, accordant with the design of the Institution, and the Corporation shall accept the same, every such donation, devise or bequest, shall be applied in conformity with the express conditions of the donor or devisor; Provided further that said Corporation shall not be allowed to hold more than one thousand acres of land at any one time, unless the said Corporation shall have received the same by gift, grant, or devise; and in such case, they shall be required to sell or dispose of the same within ten years from the time they shall acquire such title; and on failure to do so, said land, over and above the before-named one thousand acres, shall revert

to the original donor, grantor, deviser or their heirs. Sections II, IV, and V refer to the right of the "body politic and incorporate" to fill vacancies in their number; to appoint "officers, professors and teachers as required by the Institution and to displace any or such of them as the interest of the Institution requires."

Section VI, claims the right to withdraw the Charter "when the Corporation does not Comply with the provisions of the Charter."

Approved, February 27th., 1847.

The first regular meeting of the corporation of "The St. Francis Xavier Female Academy" was held July 1st., 1848.

The Charter was secured on application of Right Reverend William Quarter, first bishop of Chicago and recorded by his successor, Right Reverend J. O. Van de Velde.

By request of the city authorities in 1848, the Sisters took charge of a temporary building, erected, for hospital purposes, at the wharf to care for immigrants, victims of typhus fever.

In 1848, a new foundation, Convent and School was opened from Chicago at Galena and continued under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy until 1857. Owing to the distance from the Mother House, perhaps, and the need of the Sisters' services elsewhere, it was then closed. The Catholic Directory, 1845, makes the following record of this foundation, Galena, Illinois.

"This Convent is a branch of the Mother-House in Chicago and is under the superintendence of the Bishop and of the Mother Superior of Chicago. It consists of 11 Sisters, of whom 8 are professed, 1 novice, and 2 postulants."

Mother Mary Theresa Reilly, Directress.

"Academy of St. Joseph", Galena, Illinois.

"This institution is kept by the Sisters of the Convent. Boarders and externs are admitted. Regulations, terms and extra charges, the same as those of the Academy at Chicago."

In the summer of 1849, and again in 1854, Chicago, like many other cities in the United States, was visited by severe epidemics of cholera. The Sisters were called upon to care for the sick in hospitals and in the homes of victims. During the first epidemic, 1849, Sister Mary Veronica Schmidt succumbed to the disease, the first death in the Chicago community. The ravages of the cholera were the occasion of the opening of the first Orphanage in Chicago under the care of the Sisters, probably the first in the city. Father Walter Quarter began by gathering the children, orphaned by the pestilence, into his own home, and the homes of Catholic families. Finally, to solve the problem of caring for the children, a house on the North Side was rented and the children, under the care of the Sisters, were given a home there. During the following year, 1850, the Orphans in charge of the Sisters were removed to a new asylum, erected on Wabash Avenue and Van Bruen Street.* The following notices are taken from the Catholic Directory, 1850.

"St. Mary's Female Orphan Asylum"

"The deplorable condition of many Catholic children whose parents had died of the cholera and other diseases, rendered it necessary to call upon the Congregations of the city to alleviate the distress of these destitute orphans. A number of children, both sexes, were at first boarded out and clothed at the expense of the Bishop,

* Annals Vol. III, p. 268.

till at last, about the first of September a frame house, of small dimensions, was rented for the female orphans who were placed under the maternal care of the Sisters of Mercy, 33 girls have already been received and their number is daily increasing. The Catholics of the city, though scarcely any are in prosperous circumstances, have generously responded to the call and our Protestant fellow citizens have evinced great interest and liberality on the occasion".

"St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum"

"The Bishop has just ceded a small frame house, the residence of one of the priests of the Cathedral to be used as a refuge for the male orphans. 13 were admitted at the opening and the number will soon be doubled. Sisters of Mercy in Charge."

In 1854, the losses wrought by the epidemic were more serious. Fourteen hundred and twenty-four victims of the disease are listed out of a population, which numbered, according to the census of 1850, twenty-nine thousand. Mother Mary Agatha O'Brien and three of her associates in the Sisterhood, Sister Mary Bernard Hughes, Sister Mary Louisa O'Connor and Sister Mary Veronica Hickey, all died within a few hours, July 8th, 1854. Four coffins were placed in the Chapel, then carried to their last resting place; humanly speaking, this was probably, the most severe trial which the Community had experienced in America.

After the death of Bishop Quarter, 1848, his brother, the Rev. Walter Quarter, acting as administrator, and carrying out the plans of the Bishop, conveyed the deed of seventeen acres of land, described in the *Annals*⁷ as lying between the old Catholic cemetery and the Lake Shore. This tract, by reason of the Lake's receding, later grew to

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 269.

twenty acres. Bishop Van de Velde⁸ who succeeded Bishop Quarter in 1849, appears to have had peculiar views on the right of religious to hold title to properties and real estate. He required the Sisters to transfer to himself the properties acquired by the promise and grant of Bishop Quarter and his brother acting as administrator of the diocese. After much hesitation on the part of the Sisters, the deeds were finally surrendered. Soon after Bishop Van de Velde sailed for Rome. During his absence 1849, Mother Francis Monholland purchased property on Wabash Avenue between Harrison and VanBuren Streets with a view of building a hospital.

On February 27, 1851, the Illinois General Hospital, formerly the "Lake House" was given over to the charge of the Sisters of Mercy; June 21, 1852, Mercy Hospital and Mercy Orphanage were incorporated by the State Legislature. The Charter is worthy of note.

CHARTER OR ACT OF INCORPORATION

An Act to Incorporate the Mercy Hospital and Mercy Orphan Asylum of Chicago, Illinois,
June 21st, 1852.

Section I.

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in General Assembly—That Margaret O'Brien, Mary Ann McGirr, Ellen Riely, Mary Monholland, Mary Kilday, and Catherine Grogan, and their successors be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, under the name and style of "The Mercy Hospital and Mercy Orphan Asylum of Chicago" and

⁸ This was due entirely, not to unkindness, but to the Bishop's peculiar views, on property and the right of religious to hold and control it. The Bishop was always the personal friend of the Sisters and himself acted as their chaplain and director while he remained in Chicago.

henceforth shall be styled and known by that name and by that name and style to remain and have perpetual succession with power to sue and to be sued, plead and be impleaded, to acquire hold and convey property and personal and mixed in all lawful ways to have and use a common Seal and to alter the same at pleasure.

To make and alter from time to time such by-laws as they may deem necessary for the government of said Institution the officers and servants provided such by-laws are not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States.

Sections II, III, refer to rights to fill vacancies; to be admitted to the institution without question of religious faith; to inherit; to hold property provided it does not exceed one thousand acres of land at any one time, "unless the said Corporation shall have received the same by gift, grant or devise and in such case they shall be required to sell or dispose of the same within ten years from the time they shall acquire each title, and in failure to do so said land over and above the before named one thousand acres shall revert to the original donor, grantor deviser or their heirs."

Sections IV, V, VI refer to duties of the Treasurer; the rights of the Corporation to appoint the officers of the Institution; the forfeiture of Charter when the Corporation fails to comply with the provisions therein.

Approved June 21, 1852.

Copied in the Records of "Mercy Hospital and Mercy Orphan Asylum of Chicago Illinois" by Mother Francis Monholland.

In the following May, 1853, finding the hospital (Lake House) inadequate to accommodate the increasing number of patients, the Sisters removed the patients to "Tippicanoe

Inn," an old frame building on Kenzie and Walcott Streets. Both Sisters and Doctors agreed that a new hospital was an urgent need. Accordingly, negotiations were begun for the erection of the hospital on the site purchased by Mother Francis Monholland in 1849. This hospital was ready for occupancy on the return of Bishop Van de Valde from Rome and blessed by him October 16th. The new building served both as a Hospital and Orphanage. This was claimed as diocesan property. During the same year 1853, a building known as the "Cumberland House" was bought and moved to the rear of the hospital. This was used as an Orphanage for boys. Later, a second building was utilized for the same purpose.

On May 13, 1850, a free school was opened in the Holy Name parish, on the North Side. In 1852, Mother Agatha purchased fifty acres at 49th Street and Cottage Grove Avenue for \$10,000, the present site of St. Xavier's College, Novitiate and Mother House.

Bishop Anthony O'Regan who succeeded to the See of Chicago, 1854, continued what appeared quite the same policy as his predecessor on property held by religious. He, as Bishop Van de Velde had done, claimed the deeds for the property, seventeen acres on the Lake shore. An agreement was finally reached by exchanging title to the North Shore property for the deed of the Convent and lot on Wabash Avenue. In this transaction, however, the Sisters were the losers financially. The Bishop required, in addition to the exchange, the Sisters' note for four thousand dollars. Mother Monholland had recorded the transaction thus:

"Nov. 2, 1856, purchased from Rt. Rev. A. O'Regan 40-foot lot on which the Convent now stands, viz., situation on Wabash Avenue, for the sum of \$8,000.00; gave in part payment a deed of lot on North Side,

\$4,000.00; balance still due, \$4,000.00. Payable in thirteen years, fourteen years, fifteen years, at 6 per cent interest, payable annually."

A new property was acquired in 1854 at Carville, described also as situated at 26th and Calumet Avenue. This property was designed as an Academy and Boarding School. It was opened December 3, 1854, under the title, St. Agatha, in memory of Mother Agatha, and remained chief headquarters, and during part of the time, Mother House and Novitiate until 1864 when Bishop Duggan wished to place the Orphans under the administration of lay trustees. The Sisters refused this arrangement, in consequence the Orphans were given into charge of Sisters of St. Joseph, Carondelet. The Orphans were removed to the building, St. Mary's of the Lake, University, that had been founded and chartered by Bishop Quarter. The patients at the Mercy Hospital were transferred to St. Agatha's Academy, the boarders at St. Agatha's taking up their residence at St. Xavier's.⁹ The day pupils were accommodated in a building in the rear of the Hospital.

The Catholic Directory of 1860 gives notice of St. Agatha's Academy:

St. Agatha's Academy for Young Ladies, Corner of Rio Grande and Calumet Streets, Chicago, Illinois.

This Institution is conducted by the Sisters of Mercy. Terms.—Board and Tuition, (including bed and bedding, washing and mending) varies, according to studies, from \$150 to \$180 and \$200, payable half yearly in advance. Extra charges for the French, German, Latin and Italian languages; for Drawing and Painting, for Music on Piano and Guitar and for use of the same; and for trans-

⁹ The financial complications and transfer of properties were due probably, to the conditions and economic uncertainties of War times.

ferring Painting on Velvet, shellwork and artificial flowers. Average number of pupils 52.

In 1856, the Sisters were withdrawn from the school of the Holy Name and the Sisters of the Holy Cross took charge. Two years later, 1858, St. Joseph's School on the North Side was also given over to the Holy Cross Sisters. During the same year, 1858, a Magdalen Asylum, an outgrowth of immediate need, a new activity of the Sisters of Mercy, was opened on Price Street. In the following year, 1859, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd assumed charge of this institution. During this year, 1859, a House of Providence for Working Girls was opened in a building in the rear of St. Xavier's.

In August 1859, a new Convent and School were opened, at St. Columba's, Ottawa, Ill. Later this foundation probably by reason of distance from Chicago, became an independent Mother House. This was in September, 1861. When in 1877, Peoria was made a separate diocese, St. Columba's was the diocesan headquarters for the Sisters of Mercy in the new See.

In August 1861, came the first summons for the services of the Sisters to care for the sick and wounded soldiers of the Civil War. The call was from Colonel Mulligan, who had organized the Irish brigade in Chicago. This brigade was then stationed at Lexington, Missouri. The Sisters set out under the guidance of Lieutenant Shanley, who was conducting a detachment of troops to the South, probably by way of Chicago River, Michigan Canal, then down the Illinois River to St. Louis and up the Missouri River to Lexington. Less than a day's journey, perhaps, from Lexington, they were fired upon by the Confederates and forced to return. When they reached Jefferson City, the Sisters were requested by authority to take charge of the City Hospital which was then crowded with sick and

wounded soldiers. They remained here until April, 1862, when by reason of the regiment's removal, the Sisters' service no longer being required, they set out for Chicago. At St. Louis, they were met by Mr. Yateman, Sanitary Commissioner, who solicited their help in the hospital department on board the steamboat "Empress" which was carrying the disabled men from Shiloh to Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. They reached Pittsburg Landing on Palm Sunday. The Sisters had hoped to hear Mass and receive Holy Communion. They were disappointed in finding that the "Landing" consisted of a house, a hut and the tents of the disabled troops. They visited the sick and wounded of both armies. Next day the sick and wounded were transferred to the deck of the "Empress" which then set out by way of Tennessee River, up the Mississippi to Keokuk, Iowa, which they reached Holy Saturday, April 16, 1862. They heard Mass on Easter Sunday morning and received Holy Communion. The Sisters of Notre Dame seeing them in the church invited them to breakfast, but the sick and wounded needed their care and attention. In the evening however, they were privileged to be present at Benediction in the Chapel of the Sisters of the Visitation. The Sisters returned immediately on board for a second division of the sick and wounded. A third voyage was made to Louisville where the disabled men had been brought from Shiloh. This was about the end of May, 1862. The Sisters spent altogether five weeks on board this hospital ship.¹⁰

¹⁰ The Sisters were proficient in Pharmacy, as well as in nursing. On one occasion a complaint had been made by a druggist that persons not qualified made up prescriptions, whereupon the Sister in charge of the drug-room in the Mercy Hospital presented herself with other candidates before the State Board of Pharmacy, for examination. The Sister stood first in rank in the examination, she was also the first woman to receive a diploma in Pharmacy, in the State of Illinois.

Annals, Vol. III. p. 287.

Meantime the Sisters in Chicago were visiting and caring for the prisoners of war who had been brought to Chicago after the fall of Fort Donaldson.

Two schools were opened during war time; one in the parish of St. Louis¹¹ the other at 18th and Clark Streets in St. John's parish in 1863. During this time plans were projected by the pastor of St. Patrick's whereby the Sisters who had charge of St. Patrick's schools, opened in 1854, should reside in the parish. The non-agreement of Reverend Mother Francis with these plans resulted in the withdrawal of the Sisters of Mercy and the subsequent arrival of the Sisters of Loretto to take charge of the parochial school. These arrangements necessarily caused the closing of St. Angela's Select School for Girls of the West Side conducted in connection with St. Patrick's parish school.

Later, after the fire, St. Patrick's, on Canal Street is not listed in the Catholic Directory. In 1877 and after, there is a new St. Patrick's, South Chicago. A school was opened in 1866 in the parish of St. James with 150 pupils on register. In 1884, at the opening of the new school there were in attendance 400 pupils.

In the following year, 1867, a branch foundation opened a school and Academy, St. Joseph's, DeWitt, Iowa. Two years later, 1869, a Convent and School were opened in Davenport, Iowa, another colony was sent to open a school in Harrisburg the See of the new diocese of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, probably at Lancaster. On July 25, 1869, the cornerstone of the new Mercy Hospital and the beginning of the present commodious, modernly equipped building on Prairie Avenue and 26th Street was laid. The ground on which it is erected was originally a strip

¹¹ Other Records of Chicago give 1870 as the date of the opening of St. Louis' parish school. After 1873, the year following the fire, neither the school nor the Church of St. Louis is listed in the Catholic Directory.

of prairie purchased in 1855 for six hundred dollars. At this time, 1869 the Mercy Hospital had treated, from its opening in 1851, over sixty thousand patients. Of this number about fifteen thousand were charity patients.

During these eighteen years the hospital had never received any public appropriations or private endowment. In the following year, 1870, a new building was erected by the Chicago Medical School on land belonging to the hospital property. The land was leased to the Medical School for twenty years, rent free. The Sisters took charge of the dispensary in this new Hospital for the advantage of students at the Medical School and the poor of the city. In 1871, the Sisters acquired land on Wabash Avenue for \$75,000. The purpose was to build here a new Academy. The old St. Xavier's, also on Wabash Avenue, was later sold. Legal documents had been already drawn up for \$275,000, when on the evening of October 9th, the great Chicago fire, which destroyed 17,450 buildings swept over the City. St. Xavier's which was then the Mother House was destroyed in the general conflagration.¹² The Mother House was in consequence transferred to the Mercy Hospital, where the pupils from St. Xavier's and the working girls from the House of Providence were also temporarily given a home. The patients of the U. S. Marine Hospital were also received at the Mercy Hospital until a new building for the Marine Hospital was completed, November, 1872. A building at Thirty-fourth Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, opposite the Chicago University was rented and used as St. Xavier's Academy until a new building was completed, August 26th, 1873. When the Sisters took possession of the new Academy both the building and the furniture were heavily mortgaged. By the consent of Bishop Foley, Reverend Mother Genevieve allowed the

¹² Chicago fire, Oct. 8-9 (Sunday evening) 1871, 17, 450 buildings destroyed, causing the death of 200 persons. Property loss \$200,000,000.

new Academy and Hospital to be sold at public sale. By a legal arrangement, the Bishop bought both properties, the deed of which he held until the time of his death, 1879. By careful economy, the corporate body of the Sisterhood maintained its solvency and each year succeeded in reducing both the principal and interest of the debt against the properties of the Community. During the episcopate of Archbishop Feehan, the remaining debt which amounted to about ten thousand dollars, was canceled, and the deed returned by the Bishop.

The financial losses to Chicago and its people, the result of the fire of 1871 were reflected in the temporal resources of the Sisters and their means of support. Bills could not be collected and old St. Xavier's, the sale of which had been negotiated just before the fire, was completely destroyed. Later the lots were sold for sixty-one thousand dollars, subject to mortgage. After twenty-five years of labor in their mission of Mercy and Charity, the Sisters were reduced to a cash account of \$370, with bills to meet for the support of their charges. Finally, a building at Twenty-fourth Street and Cottage Grove Avenue was rented for the use of St. Xavier's Academy. The boarders remained here until a new building was completed and opened August 28, 1873.

Right in the midst of financial straits, in the summer of 1873, Chicago was again visited by an epidemic of cholera. At the request of Bishop Foley, two Sisters, Sister Mary Jane Duggan and Sister M. Alphonsus Bulter, were appointed in charge of the Emergency Hospital, located at 37th and Wentworth Avenue, to take care of the sick until the epidemic was over, about the end of August.

All Saints' Parish School was opened in 1875, by the Rev. E. J. Dunne later, 1893, consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Dallas, Texas. The Catholic Directory for 1877 gives the number of pupils 350. In 1882 it had

grown to 450. This school was the first in which large boys were taught by the Sisters. In 1881 the Sisters of Mercy were invited to open St. Gabriel's Parish School with an enrolment of 500 pupils. A High School was opened in 1896. The present capacious building, 45th and Wallace Streets was opened 1905. This school has now, 1921, an attendance of 1600 pupils with an approved High School course and 28 Sister-teachers.

In 1883 the Sisters of Mercy took charge of the parish school of St. Patrick's in South Chicago. This school opened with an enrolment of 207. There was a High School in connection with the eight grammar grades from the beginning. This, St. Patrick's, was the first Catholic Parochial High School in the diocese of Chicago. Now, in 1921, it is listed as affiliated with the Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

St. Agnes' School, also was opened at Brighton Park, Illinois in 1883. The Catholic Directory of 1885 gives the number of pupils 200. In 1887 the attendance reached 315.

In 1885 two schools were opened, St. Rose of Lima, 48th and Marshfield Avenue with 200 pupils recorded; St. Elizabeth's in the Catholic Directory is credited with 400 pupils under the care of eight Sisters of Mercy. In 1914 a new school, a spacious structure containing a large assembly hall was erected on the corner of Wabash Avenue and Forty First Street at the cost of \$142,000. In a combination Church and School-building, Holy Angels' School was opened in 1887. The attendance in 1890 was 203. The present school building was erected in 1912. St. Ann's opened in 1893.¹⁸ The number of pupils in the Directory of 1895 is 450, taught by ten Sisters. In 1896, the Golden Jubilee year of the Chicago Community founded from Pittsburg in 1846, the Catholic Directory records:

¹⁸ Other records give 1890 as the year of opening.

Professed Sisters, 193; Novices, 23; Postulants, 5; Number of pupils under their care, 5000. During this year, 1896, a new Convent was erected in Libertyville on a strip of land containing twenty acres, a gift to the Community from Mr. C. C. Copela. The Convent was blessed, placed under the patronage of Mary, the Mother of God, and given the title, St. Mary's. The building, serving the triple purpose of Novitiate, College and Academy is located at 4928 Evans Avenue. This structure cost over three hundred thousand dollars.

The Corpus Christi school opened in old St. Agatha's Convent, 4900 Evans Avenue in 1901 with 100 pupils and three Sister-teachers. The present Corpus Christi school building opened in 1910 is a commodious edifice containing twenty class rooms besides offices, music rooms, wash rooms and cloak rooms. The first floor, which formerly served as a pro-church, now as an assembly hall, has a seating capacity of one thousand. St. Cecilia's Parish School was opened the same year, 1901 with an enrolment according to the Catholic Directory of 1902, of 1600¹⁴ pupils under the care of twelve Sisters.

St. Ita's Parish School was opened in 1904 with sixty-five pupils on roll. At the close of the first year the number increased to ninety-five. In 1909 the Sisters opened in St. Ita's school a four years' High School.

In 1906, St. Mary's Training School for poor and dependent children was established at Des Plaines, Illinois. Later, 1911, the Chicago Industrial School for Girls was moved to St. Mary's, thus the scope and work of this training School were extended. It now cares for the Orphans of the Diocese and provides for High School and Academic Education, Commercial and practical training of boys and girls who can not afford to pay their way at an Academy

¹⁴ 1600 probably a misprint for 600 or 160.

or College. Later a printing department has been added to this industrial institution. Forty-two Sisters have charge of the various sections of the establishment. The pupils number, according to the Catholic Directory, 1921, one thousand, one hundred and seventy-one. In 1861 the Orphanage had ninety-seven inmates. In 1864 the Orphans were given over to the Sisters of St. Joseph who had charge until 1906 when the Sisters of Mercy were again invited to assume the responsibility. At present, 1921, there are one thousand, one hundred and six in the Industrial Schools.

The Sisters also had charge of the School in St. Mary's parish (Paulist); and until the coming of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to Chicago, August 20, 1912, two Sisters of Mercy attended the colored mission in St. Monica's parish.

During this year, 1921, St. Xavier's College, the first Catholic Women's College in Chicago, was chartered. This College is the material and academical development of the unpretentious Select school inaugurated by the Sisters in 1846.

Regular four-year High School courses were established in St. Elizabeth's and St. James' Parish School, in 1889 and 1890 respectively, and in 1897 St. Gabriel's High School also was approved.

Five new schools were given into the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, 1916 to 1918. St. Joachim's opened in 1916. Our Lady of Solace School opened in 1817 with six grades and two hundred pupils in attendance. In 1920 this school was accredited by the Public School Board of Examiners, thus allowing pupils holding a diploma from Our Lady of Solace School to enter any public school in the city without further examination. St. Mary's School (Lake Forest) opened in September 1917. The total cost of this modern, well-equipped school building was \$45,000. Holy Rosary (Italian) School was also opened this year

1917. St. Justin Martyr School was opened February 25th, 1918 with six grades and two hundred and sixty children on roll.

A Training School for Nurses was established at Mercy Hospital in 1889. Three years later, 1892, it was chartered by the State Legislature. Since 1905 the Nurses in the Training School, affiliated with the Northwestern University, have been graduated with the University students. The Training School requires a three years' course and the student nurses have the superior advantages which the Medical School Laboratories offer. This is the first Catholic Training School for Nurses in the State of Illinois. From the beginning, 1889 to the present time 1921, the Training School has graduated 600 nurses and 400 internes.

In 1893, a four-story annex was erected to the Mercy Hospital. Three years later, 1896, improvements were made which gave to the building added fitting-accommodations for one hundred beds. In 1908 a new wing with south and west exposure was built to the already spacious structure.

A Home for the Nurses, a gift of Mr. Ferris S. Thompson of New York, was completed and ready for occupancy, 1914. In 1915 an important addition with a Convent annex was made. This addition has a frontage of one hundred and fifty-seven feet on Calumet Avenue. The hospital wing contains small wards, private rooms, maternity department, diet kitchen, linen and work rooms. The roof garden with its comfortable sun-parlor adds much to the ease and pleasure of convalescent patients.

A Club house for Nurses and a Mercy Hospital Guest House were added to the Mercy Hospital property in 1918. During the past seven years the Sisters have cared for 113,788 patients in their hospital, and 92,835 free day-patients have been treated. Board and service have been given gratuitously in the Misericordia Hospital opened 1921 for dependent mothers.

During seventy-five years of the educational life of this Community of the Mercy Order in Chicago, it has graduated from the Grammar Schools over 30,000 pupils; over 3000 from the High School (first High School opened 1883); over 800 pupils from St. Xavier's Academy.

At the present time, 1921, these Sisters of Mercy have charge of the following institutions: ¹⁵

**REVIEW OF THE INSTITUTIONS IN CHARGE OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY
IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO**

Schools	Teachers		Pupils
	Rel.	Lay	
St. Francis Xavier's College for Women (Arts and Science, Music, Fine Arts, Home Economics, Pedagogy, High School, Comm. High School, Elementary). Affiliated with Catholic University, accredited by State Department, 4928 College Grove Ave., Chicago, Illinois.			
Diocesan Clergy	2		
Men	1		
Women	8	6	100
St. Francis Xavier Academy, 4928 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago. Affiliated with Catholic University, State University, Normal Central Association (pending). (High School, Comm. High School, Elementary).			
Girls	15	2	353
Elementary, Grades 8			330
St. Elizabeth's, 4052 Wabash Ave., Elementary .	4		
Boys and Girls			160
Parochial High School	5		153
St. Gabriel's Elementary, 45th & Sherman Sts. .	24	3	
Boys and Girls			1563
High School	4	3	
Boys and Girls			94

¹⁵ There is a Mercy Home, 2834 Wabash Ave., with fifty-five inmates listed in the Catholic Directory of 1921. This, probably, is the same or a development of the House of Providence opened for Working Girls in a building in the rear of 131 Wabash Avenue, 1859.

**ELEMENTARY AND PAROCHIAL HIGH SCHOOLS
—GRADES EIGHT**

St. Ita's, 5525 Magnolia Ave.	8	2	
Boys and Girls			439
Parochial High School	2	4	
Girls			54
St. James' Parochial High School, 2834 Wabash Ave.	3		
Boys and Girls			74
(Elementary)	15		630
St. Patrick's Parochial High School, 9519 Commercial Ave. Affiliated with Catholic University, Chicago Normal College. Elementary.			731
Parochial High School	4	2	
Boys and Girls			81
Commercial High School, Girls			15

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—GRADES EIGHT—
BOYS AND GIRLS**

St. Mary's, Elementary.	6		159
Lake Forest High School.	1		13
Our Lady of Solace, 6328 S. Sanamor St.	8		414
St. Rose of Lima, 4807 S. Marshfield Ave.	9		465
All Saint's School, 25th Pl. & Wallace St.	9	2	490
St. Ann's, Blvd. & Wentworth Ave.	16		857
St. Cecelia's, 4900 Evans Ave.	12	2	767
Corpus Christi, 4910 Grand Blvd.	10		494
Holy Angel's, 545 Oakwood Blvd.	10		530
Holy Rosary, 2312 W. Erie St.	8		430
St. Joachim, 9035 Langley Ave.	6		290
St. Justin, Martyr, 7035 S. Honore St.	7	1	390
St. Mary's of the Lake, 1026 Buena St.	5	1	260
Chicago Industrial School for Girls Orphan Asylum, Elementary School, Industrial School, Des Plaines, Illinois, Grades 10	12	4	398
St. Mary's Training School for Boys Orphan Asylum, Elementary & Comm. High School, Des Plaines, Illinois, Grades 8	15	2	
Boys			708
Commercial High School	2		
Boys			6
St. Francis Xavier Academy Normal Training			

College, Summer School, Religious Novitiate, 4928 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago	62	
Novices		36
Postulants		4
Mercy Hospital, 2537 Prairie Ave. Sisters of Mercy		53
Patients		6038
Training School		125
Total Number of Religious Teachers.		228
Total Number of Lay Teachers		34
Total Number of Pupils.		11,447
Total Number of Professed Sisters.		381
Total Number of Novices		19
Total Number of Postulants		18

A distinct branch of the Sisters of Mercy from Nashville, Tennessee, was brought to Chicago by Archbishop Feehan 1883. (The first Superior, Mother Catharine, was the sister of Right Reverend P. A. Feehan, first Archbishop of Chicago) and established St. Patrick's Academy, in 1883 with one hundred and fifty pupils in attendance.

During the same year, 1883, St. Malachy's School was opened with an enrolment of about two hundred and fifty children; five years later, 1888, Mt. Carmel's School whose records show three hundred children listed was established; During the years between 1896-1906 four schools were opened, St. Catherine's Academy, 1896, pupils, two hundred; St. Finbarr's School, 1899, attendance, 350; St. Lucy's, 1901, one hundred and fifty pupils; school of the Most Precious Blood, established in 1906, three hundred pupils recorded.

In 1910, St. Thomas Aquinas school opened with an enrolment of four hundred pupils; Resurrection School in 1912, two hundred seventy-five pupils on record; St. Catherine of Siena School was established in 1917, with three hundred pupils on roll.

At the present time 1921, this branch of the Sisters of Mercy has charge of the following institutions:

**ACADEMIES, ELEMENTARY AND PAROCHIAL HIGH
SCHOOLS—GRADE EIGHT**

St. Catherine's Academy (High School, Elementary), 218 N. Central Ave., Chicago. Affiliated with Chicago Normal College.	6	2	
Girls			60
St. Patrick's Academy, Religious Novitiate, Normal Training School. Affiliated with State Department (pending), 2302 Park Avenue. . .	13		
Novices			10
Postulants			3
Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, 728 Belmont Ave . . .	5	1	330
Most Precious Blood, Congress and Western Aves.	13	1	825
Resurrection of Our Lord, 5070 Jackson Blvd . .	10	2	750
St. Thomas Aquinas', Washington Blvd. & 51st St	8	1	607
St. Finbarr's, 1456 S. Harding Ave.	5	1	525
St. Lucy's, 440 N. Mayfield Ave	5		225
St. Malachy's, Washington Blvd. & Oaksley Ave.	10		450
St. Catherine of Sienna, 27 Washington Blvd., Oak Park	6		300
Total Number of Pupils			3872
Total Number of Teachers (Religious)			81
Total Number of Teachers (Lay)			8
Total Number of Sisters of Mercy of both Communities in the Archdiocese of Chicago:			
Total Number of Sister-Teachers (Mercy)			309
Total Number of Pupils under their charge			15,319

SISTER MARY EULALIA HERRON.

St. Mary's Convent, Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania.

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
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